Social control in teacher education: A case study.

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SOCIAL CONTROL IN TEACHER EDUCATION:

A CASE STUDY

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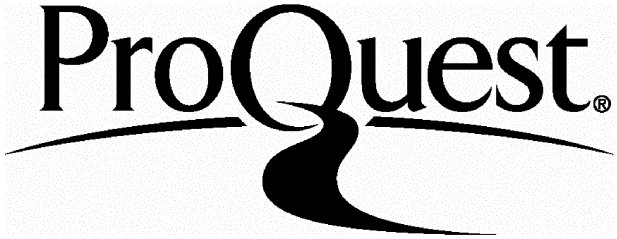

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SUMMARY

In this research I have examined the relationship between an aspect of teacher education and the ideology of social control. Taking the Professional Studies Credit of a B.Ed. Honours year course, I examine the ways in which the Credit serves to develop those qualities which support the dominant social order both overtly and implicitly. I suggest that both the planning and the implementation of the Credit take place within constraining parameters and that they embody contradictions and tensions, which correspond very broadly to developments in wider society. Use of the concepts of practical -, theoretical - and hegemonic ideologies demonstrates, I believe, the ways in which different forms of control are transmitted and legitimated.

Part of the research involves also an examination of certain Government Reports on Education. By looking at these I seek to understand how the underlying social, economic and political structures influence the ideologies which are part of everyday perceptions about education. I use a form of discourse analysis, which I believe helps to provide some understanding of how educational common sense comes to be produced and how status is created.

By doing this it is my intention to avoid separating the development of a particular course from the wider issues of power and control. However, I do not see the two aspects as causatively linked, but each as part of the same social and political whole.

It is my intention to reveal the ideological contradictions underpinning both the Professional Studies Credit and the selected Government Reports. But the chief emphasis of this research is upon the mechanisms and strategies by which both the Professional Studies Credit and the Government Reports create meaning.

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Introduction: Aims and Methods of the Research

The main aim of this piece of research is to investigate how the Professional Studies course, as implemented in three teacher training colleges, acts as an element of social control. In order to do this I chose to examine the ideological underpinning of the Professional Studies course and to place the course within a social and historical context, by considering certain relevant Government Reports on education and, in particular, those concerned with the training of teachers.

The Professional Studies credit makes up 25 per cent of a fourth year BEd Honours degree in a College of Higher Education. By establishing the Professional Studies course the College seeks to help students retain contact with schools. Being already accredited teachers, the Honours degree students would otherwise have no contact with schools in their final fourth year of an Education degree. Three other credits exist within the fourth year Honours degree course - two Education, and one main subject credit.

The main part of my empirical work was carried out during the year 1979-80, although some preliminary work was carried out in the previous year. Periodic visits were made to M, P and G colleges[1] during the year 1979-80. During that time, tape recordings were made of interviews with a sample of tutors on three sites during what was a period of transition from the three colleges as they merged into one College. I met a range of tutors who were concerned with the planning and implementation of the Professional Studies course.

For the interview sessions I drew up a list of points which I wished to raise with the tutors (see Appendix I), but whilst I had a

core group of issues I wished to raise, I nevertheless kept the interviews flexible. While perhaps this detracted from a more systematic set of findings, nevertheless I was able to adapt my questions according to the degree of the tutor's involvement on the course and to the kind of personal relationship I established with each. Some had clearly been more closely concerned with the planning of the course from the very beginning and this gave me more opportunity to perceive the original thinking behind the development of the course. But this had the disadvantage of presenting me with a number of committed mainstream views. I was thus in danger of over-emphasising the views of one group at the expense of others. Discussion with fewer tutors who were only peripherally concerned with the course meant that there was possibly less opportunity to hear more dissenting voices.

On each of my visits to the colleges I was able to talk informally with both tutors and students. I was also lucky enough to be able to attend staff meetings concerned with the planning of the Professional Studies credit, to sit in on a small number of tutorial sessions and to spend some time visiting a small sample of students at work in the schools. This provided useful background material, enabling me to draw a certain amount from the feelings transmitted, as well as giving me an opportunity to see the actual course in operation.

I decided on the use of questionnaires as a means of obtaining information from students because of the fairly large numbers of students involved with the course. A questionnaire form was sent to each of the students of the 1978-79 group, (which I refer to as the 1979 group), and later to each student on the 1979-80 year (the 1980 group). I

regarded the 1979 questionnaire distribution as a trial run, but subsequently I used these findings in my research together with those of the 1980 group. It proved useful to compare the findings and to analyse the reasons for any differences or similarities revealed.

I believe that interviews with a sample of these students would have been just as effective, perhaps more so. Quantitatively, I may have received more information from the questionnaires with about one third of them being returned. Qualitatively, I believe I might have elicited better information, since at the end of the year students were keen to talk about the course. However, I designed the questionnaire with five graded choices to enable the students to express their opinions over as wide a range as possible. While I had originally been invited by the three Colleges to do an evaluation of the course, I believed that analysis of this aspect of education was probably more effective within a sociological framework. Much of the questionnaire retained an emphasis on evaluation and was geared towards finding out the extent to which the students felt the objectives of the course had been effectively realized.

However, since my own interest was related to the way in which this course acted as a means of social control, I needed to go beyond a conception of the course as knowledge 'out there'. I needed to examine it as problematical . This meant that I had to look at the actual processes of the organisation and selection of content and method for this course from the range of possible alternatives.

This was an important issue also with regard to the interviews with tutors. I had attempted to establish how and why the Professional Studies course had come to be as it was, what the alternatives had

been and what preferences the tutors had held. I sought to find out which of these had been discarded through the period of negotiations and for what reasons. I was looking for the arguments used to promote certain ideas and to detract from others. All of this was an attempt to look at the Professional Studies (P.S.) course as problematical. I believe I handled these questions too directly or too 'heavily'. Nevertheless, I obtained some very useful material.

In the student questionnaires, I felt constrained by the expectations of staff and students about the more conventional evaluation aspect. Certainly the graded responses allowed for critical assessments of the course, enabling me to identify those aspects of the Professional Studies course which were perceived as unsatisfactory. It was in those sections which allowed scope for comments that I obtained the most valuable material for my research. Often comments here reflected a more fundamentally critical stance. I believe that a shorter questionnaire, given over to freer comments on some issues, or interviews with a sample of students from the 1979 and the 1980 year groups, might well have been more effective in eliciting greater variation in the student responses. Once I had constructed the questionnaire within the framework of the course syllabus, parameters were fairly tightly drawn. An emphasis on more qualitative responses would, I believe, have yielded even better material.

For the purposes of my research, I also examined certain educational documents concerned with the planning of the Professional Studies course, prior to the first year of its implementation in 1978. It was an important aspect of my investigation, as it served as a means of revealing the way certain perceptions about the course came to be raised and how some were selected and others rejected. It was most

illuminating to see how some views were legitimated, and how particular course content and method were decided upon. I selected from the documents what I believed to be the important relevant issues and, following them through in chronological order, I identified developments which seemed to fall into three stages. I believed this would help to reveal some of the problems encountered, the concessions made, and the general decision-making process at work. I was able to identify the ways in which arguments were used to legitimate particular points of view, as well as the formation of the different interest groups involved. I was particularly interested in the ideological underpinning of statements in these documents.[2]

Analysis of Government Reports on Education

In order to place the Professional Studies course in a wider social context, I sought to analyse certain relevant educational reports of the seventies in an attempt to identify the general trend in State policy. By doing this I intended to avoid the separation of the development of particular course content and method from the wider issues of power and control. I am not, however, trying to link the two aspects of my investigation causatively, but regard them as linked segments of the same social, economic and political whole. In the chapter entitled 'Ideology and Control' I give my reasons for believing that a particular perspective within the sociology of education, partly marxist and partly structuralist, would yield the most useful conceptual tools to try to understand the link between ideology and control. Sociologists in these traditions have done a great deal of work on the mechanisms of ideology and the various levels on which it operates, and its general complexity, especially in its discursive practices.

My interest in the subject of social control in education led me to my present comcern with why, and the ways in which, particular educational ideas and activities come to dominate at particular periods of time. Morespecifically, in relation to teacher education, I am concerned with why and the ways in which a Professional Studies Course developed as it did, at the end of the seventies, as part of an Honours degree course. The concept of 'ideology' was selected as a means of examining ideas about what is suitable content and method for the Professional Studies course. A more specialised set of concepts, developed for the analysis of 'official discourse' which has been an interesting area in recent sociology of education, is used for the analysis of the Government Reports on education, with special reference to the training of teachers. These concepts are made clear in my chapter concerning the framework for analysis of the Reports.

To identify trends within state educational policy, I undertook an analysis of three Government Reports which I deemed important and relevant to teacher education during the seventies. These were the James Report 1972, the Bullock Report 1975 and the Taylor Report 1977. Since it is likely that State intervention and control increasingly exercise a significant effect upon education, it is important, I consider, to identify and examine the underlying ideological bases of these Government Reports. In my research I am looking for both correspondence and contradiction in the ideas behind the thinking concerning the Professional Studies course and state policy as expressed in the Reports.

As I make clear in a later chapter, the framework for analysis of the Reports is taken partly from the work of Burton and Carlen, who have

themselves developed a framework for the analysis of Government Reports concerned with issues of law and order. I also, as I make clear in a later chapter, draw upon the work of James Donald.

To examine these Reports demands a form of analysis appropriate to their organisation and language. It can be argued that language is an important means of ideological communication and the concepts and framework I have selected are drawn from a form of 'discourse analysis' which identifies and examines the discursive practices of the State.[3] This discourse analysis seeks to uncover the rules which structure a particular dialogue. It seeks also to isolate the mechanisms which serve to communicate messages about how disagreements are to be resolved through, for example, appeals to 'reason', authority or common sense.

The focus in discourse analysis, especially as applied to 'official discourse', is on how and why problems are defined and established as 'problems' and on the various mechanisms which serve to create a particular 'reality'. My concern in this piece of research is with proposed changes in State policy with regard to teacher education as embodied in the Government Reports. I believe that this decade in fact displays quite a radical change in ideology and that this change is visible by means of discourse analysis of the kind I have undertaken in chapters 6, 7, of this thesis.

REFERENCES

1 The actual names, I would argue, need to remain undisclosed. I have therefore devised initials for each of the colleges and the overall College (College C).

2 See Appendix I for a more detailed account of the methods employed for analysing the Professional Studies course.

3 Burton, F. and Carlen P. (1979) Official Discourse, RKP.

Chapter 1 IDEOLOGY AND CONTROL - SOME CONCEPTUAL TOOLS

Until the late 1960's and early 1970's, sociological work in education was firmly based on a scientific foundation. Studies were characterised by a positivist theoretical underpinning. This perspective however tended to ignore the broader social and political implications for education and often failed to question the relationship between educational, political and economic institutions. It certainly did not encourage the use of such critical concepts as ideology and did not have the potential for questioning the common assumptions which are held about education.

It can be argued that educational research, within this perspective, was contained within a context which served as a support for the contemporary social and political situation. It can even be suggested that the contemporary social framework was in part legitimated by this 'relatively uncritical world view and intellectual tradition'.[1]

In the 1970's more radical thinking developed with regard to education. Studies drew attention to the ways in which education serves as a support for the dominant ideology and social relations within society.[2] What such critical approaches attempt to do is to reveal the ideological underpinning of the dominant rationalities on the basis of which educational ideas have developed. They attempt to examine, for example, the way in which ideological perceptions express themselves in relation to the curriculum, to classroom activities and to the common sense assumptions held by teachers and pupils concerning education.

Such developments in the field of education studies are rooted in the changing theoretical emphasis in sociology. One such development in sociology in the past decade has been the increase of interest in the concept of ideology. Characteristic of the work of recent and contemporary marxists, for example, has been a concern with the way in which ideology works, both at the level of society and at the level of the individual. Studies of the concept have sought a more precise understanding of the mechanisms by which ideology penetrates both the individual and the social framework and the part it plays in determining social consciousness.

It can be argued that the concept of ideology is especially important in marxist theory and indeed has become increasingly more central to it as attempts have been made to understand some of the contemporary struggles and problems, eg. women's movements, problems relating to minority groups, etc. It has become evident that such understanding involves a recognition of a complex field of social relations which, it may be argued, classical marxist theory deals with less than adequately.[3] Althusser perceives classical marxist theory in a not altogether dissimilar way arguing that in the initial stages it was descriptive yet, despite this, it remained a necessary first part to the development of theory.[4] He argues that it is the 'irreversible beginning of theory' which provides us with the decisive principle of every later development. Classical definitions have to be enlarged upon and examined in greater detail in order to understand further, for example, the role and mechanisms of the state in maintaining social control. The increasing focus on ideology as a central and basic concept for analysis then may be seen, partly at least, as a response to such needs and developments.

Certainly it is clear that distinct orientations have developed in relation to the concept of ideology and they have not been confined solely within the marxist tradition. But what is important about this latter perception is that it embodies a critical faculty, capable of accounting for '-a misrepresentation rooted in material reality.'[5]

Certainly the concept embedded within this tradition has distinct advantages for what I seek to understand. The concept of ideology, I will argue, is a tool for revealing the underlying struggle for the control of ideas, for perceiving the way in which cultural hegemony is transmitted. At the same time it can serve as a way of perceiving any counter-hegemonic movements which may be taking place. Concepts drawn from the critical tradition in sociology seem especially suited to this purpose. 'Practical' and 'theoretical' ideologies and 'hegemony' are specific concepts which I believe can reveal the struggle for control of ideas, which is likely to be taking place during the planning and implementation of a 'new' element of a teacher education course. They and, in particular, the notion of 'hegemony' serve also to relate particular ways of thinking and acting to the broader societal context, while serving also to focus on underlying contradictions often at the root of so many of these changes.

Yet even within the marxist tradition there does not appear to be any clear or uniform line of thought. This no doubt stems partially at least from Marx's own writing. It is often suggested that his early thinking, to be found in 'The German Ideology', has a philosophical emphasis, giving rise to the 'historicist' tradition within marxist theory. It can be argued that his later work, by contrast, has a scientific and economic emphasis, giving rise to the 'positivist'

tradition within marxism. It may even be suggested that some forms of 'structuralism' can be associated with this.[6] If we accept that this is so, then it is not surprising that marxist thinking has developed in a number of different directions, with consequences for the concept of ideology. Of these directions perhaps historicism, positivism and structuralism are the most important.

Positivism, historicism and structuralism

The more recent work of marxist sociologists, with regard to the concept of ideology, tends to fall within three major orientations, all with their roots in Marx: positivism, historicism and structuralism. An awareness of these orientations, their strengths and weaknesses, and the historical background to them provide a useful framework for more detailed analysis by sociologists working in this area. There are various explanations which can be made as to how these orientations have developed. The philosophical emphasis of Marx's early work, it can be argued,[7] gave the impetus for a perspective which emphasised the relationship between 'consciousness' and 'practice'. On the other hand the scientific elements of his later work may be linked to an emphasis upon 'base' and 'superstructure'. Marginally different views are held,[8] also suggesting a division in Marx's thinking. Marx, it can be argued, stressed the division between science and ideology, sustaining the emphasis upon rational knowledge as opposed to mystification, the latter typical of his earlier modes of thought. But to this Marx made a crucial addition, '... linking ideology to the sectional interests of dominant groups in society'.[9] In so doing he drew attention to the notion of a relationship between social class, particularly that of the ruling class, and ideology. In Marx's

view the ruling class is important, in respect of the power it holds over material factors. But still more important is the power which he believed it holds over society's intellectual activities. Giddens argues that the science-ideology distinction, combined with the sectional interest-ideology dichotomy, has been responsible for the fruitfulness of the marxist approach.[10]

What then are the implications of these orientations for the concept of ideology? The logic and consequences of each perspective are not the same, and the concept of ideology develops different connotations according to the context. The 'consciousness-practice', 'sectional interest' orientation, emphasises "the role of class practice as crucial to understanding ideology".[11] Ideology tends to become involved with "issues of the historical determination of knowledge and truth"[12] and is seen as playing an important part in the class struggle, crucial in the development of consciousness. This historicist interpretation does not ignore the fact that economic factors are involved, but explanations do not rest exclusively in economic phenomena. In general then, within this context, ideology acquires a more subjective character as the 'world-view' of a class. Explanations of the role of class in the development of consciousness tend to be made in terms of 'false consciousness', in which the world appears completely different from the way it is in 'reality'. The bourgeoisie rules and organises, by means of the permeation of this false consciousness throughout society.

Developing out of Marx's later work is an orientation which gives emphasis to the base-superstructure tendency. Within this tradition consciousness is analysed in relation to material reality, often to a separate economic structure. Consciousness is explained in terms of

economic factors, linking the nature of society directly to its economic base, even at times to the point of suggesting that consciousness itself is a pure reflection of that economic base. In this perspective, ideology is an essential and 'positive' element within society leading to consciousness being analysed in terms of material reality. Such work falls within what may be termed the positivist tradition. This tradition leads also to an emphasis upon rational explanations, to discussion of the problem of the science-ideology dichotomy. Ideology tends to be seen as an objective element and as having a material existence. It rejects the 'mythical', false consciousness perspective and opposes historicist assumptions.

Further developments with regard to the concept of ideology are to be found in structural analysis. Some forms of structural analysis can be seen to be associated with the 'positivist tradition'.[13] But it is generally agreed that the marxist structuralism of Althusser represents '... a strong reaction both against 'technicist' and 'economistic' interpretations of Marx on the one hand, and against 'historicist' intepretations on the other'.[14] Others hold similar views, arguing that Althusser, indisputably the most important representative of this line of thought, exposes the fundamentally irrational nature of conceptions of society which justify either an economistic or technicist view of history.[15] He is against 'the mechanistic intepretation of the 'base-superstructure' metaphor',[16] while also rejecting historicist interpretations.

What then are the implications of this orientation for the concept of ideology? Firstly, it is important to say that marxist structural analysis has tended to develop in the field of language. However it

has been applied to more general cultural factors, in particular in the work of Althusser. In many ways, as I have suggested, the structuralist conception of ideology has developed as a critique of historicist and economistic conceptions. On the one hand structuralism rejects the notion of ideology as false consciousness and as an expression of the interests of dominant group, as a world view; on the other, structuralists do not accept the positivist notion of ideology as a mere 'reflection of the real'.[17] Structuralism shifts the focus from contents to forms or structures. Logic is established around social and mental categories and there is a belief that the rules governing culture and knowledge can only be perceived by examining the internal relations through which culture and knowledge are produced.[18] Ideology is seen as a necessary feature of all forms of society. Significantly it is perceived that culture is organised like a language and can therefore be studied on the analogy of structural linguistics. Analysis comes to be concerned, not with the world we actually experience, but with those symbolic relationships we use 'to think the world with'.[19] Ideology, within this tradition is related to, and explained in terms of, the underlying structures of society. Analysis is concerned with structural laws, the coexistence of things, not so much with their causes. Such laws are largely at an unconscious level '... which consists of conventional categories which cannot be altered by any particular individual and whose finite order is not self-conscious. From here a duality emerges between unconscious system and human practice, between structure and human will, which explains the second by the first.[20]

The concept of hegemony

The conceptual framework which I have selected arises specifically out of the work of Gramsci and Althusser who, arguably, have taken different routes, one historicist the other structuralist. As has been suggested, within this historicist orientation consciousness and economic base are not matters of mere reflection, they are both perceived as aspects of the same process of history. To reiterate briefly, ideology is seen as false consciousness which serves to protect class interests. The emphasis is on ideology as a 'world-view of a class'.[21] By contrast, within the structuralist tradition and in the work of Althusser in particular, ideology is not necessarily 'illusory', but it is certainly rather less than the 'truth'.[22] What is important is that it is a functionally '... necessary feature of the existence of every type of society'.[23] It is an essential element which serves '...to shape men, to transform them'.[24]

My particular interest in Gramsci's work stems predominantly from his understanding and examination of the notion of 'hegemony', although his conceptions of 'common sense' and 'philosophy' as mechanisms for disseminating ideology are useful ones too. As has already been argued, it is normally claimed that Gramsci writes within a historicist orientation and in many respects this is true. Clearly his perceptions on society have led him to focus upon analysis of class domination and class practice, the concept of 'hegemony' being central to these.

Since the purpose of my study is to examine the relationship between one particular aspect of teacher education and the notion of social control, it is clear that a concept such as 'hegemony', concerned as it is with power and control, must provide an important tool for analysis.

It was Gramsci's concern with social control in wider society which led him to define two major elements at work in the maintenance of this control. One of these involved the more obvious coercive measures which clearly serve to establish control. However by far the more important element of control is to be found in what Gramsci called 'hegemony'. In fact it was this very observation that led Gramsci to consider in greater detail those hegemonic factors which, he hypothesised, were a crucial feature of control in capitalist societies.

Gramsci's concept of hegemony

Gramsci, it should be noted, does not specifically refer to 'ideology' throughout most of his work. Other terms, eg 'conceptions of life', 'common sense', 'hegemony', etc tend to be used. In his analysis the concept of 'hegemony', perhaps one of the most striking aspects of Gramsci's work, specifically links the state with this important means of control. Hegemony, it can be argued, is an ideology "... which has been institutionalised by the state".[25] Clearly the concept in this context provides a means of relating particular institutions, eg. education, with political and economic power, which is very relevant to my particular study. In explaining how ideology works, Gramsci argues that the state comprises two elements, 'civil society' and the 'state', or 'political society', and it is in 'civil society' that hegemony is chiefly exercised. 'Civil society' is a key concept for Gramsci for "... it stands between the economic structure and the State".[26] In relation to these concepts and others it is evident that there is an overall 'looseness' in Gramsci's usage. Terms like 'state', 'hegemony' and 'civil society' tend to have a number of different connotations.[27] Nevertheless 'civil society' includes quite clearly

such institutions as the family, the church, etc. a notion at least partially taken up subsequently by Althusser.

The second element of control, coercion , is exercised by the state. Gramsci makes his position more clear with regard to the working of these two elements of control, in his explanation of how a social group maintains its supremacy. Both elements are there: 'domination', implying coercive measures, on the one hand, and 'intellectual and moral leadership', suggesting ideological pressures, on the other. Of course coercive measures are important: a social group can destroy or subjugate antagonistic groups, perhaps even by armed force, in order to gain or maintain its dominance. But Gramsci emphasises that ideological pressures are superior to those of coercion, especially with regard to the maintenance of power. For example,

> "A social group must always exercise 'leadership' before winning governmental power and this is indeed one of the principal conditions for the winning of such power. It subsequently becomes dominant when it exercises power but even if it holds it firmly in its grasp it must continue to 'lead' as well." [28]

Hegemonic pressures then are widespread and, while they serve to propagate political ideas and beliefs, they also act as a cohesive mechanism, a point pursued later by Althusser as elements of his structuralist theory. These pressures are exercised by the ruling classes and serve to bring about the subordination of the popular masses.

An important point arises concerning the dualism of hegemony. It is perceived as having two aspects which may be described as both positive and negative. In a negative sense, hegemony serves to limit the original thought of the popular masses. Positively it serves to transform what they think by re-composing the elements of popular thinking.[29] These two points are especially relevant and important for the subsequent study, in both the analysis of Government Reports and of the education course. In these I am looking at the mechanisms by which certain perceptions come to be held i.e. I am concerned with how thought with regard to the course is limited and how elements of that thought are re-composed. For Gramsci, then hegemonic pressures are involved, in these specific ways, in the organisation of 'spontaneous consent'. At the same time, the ruling group ostensibly makes sacrifices, but is not actually touched by them in any serious way.[30] Economic or other concessions are made, but they are concessions which do not really have impact on the ruling group.

What is important about the use of this concept, however, with regard to teacher education, is that it raises questions about the way in which hegemonic ideologies are created and distributed. It makes possible an examination of how hegemonic ideologies limit discourse, how they serve to create new meanings and lead to the perception of ideas and beliefs as 'natural'. The concept of 'hegemony' focuses on the nature and role of dominant ideas both in society and in education and serves as a means of examining the rationalising processes, their articulation and their underlying meanings.

Gramsci's perception of different 'levels' suggest an understanding of the complexity of society.[31] It is the two levels, civil society

that 'ensemble of organisms' termed 'private', and the state or political society, which are the most important. Each level, as we have seen, corresponds to particular functions, the former to the function of hegemony, the latter to that of direct domination.[32] While the state has the limited functions of safeguarding public order and respect for the laws, '... hegemony over its historical development belongs to private forces, to civil society'.[33] This part of Gramsci's analysis, however, this notion of the separation of functions according to a particular level, seems to leave little scope for perceiving that the state has control over hegemonic activities which, as we shall see, develops in Althusser's analysis. Nevertheless, what is important about Gramsci's overall view of the two aspects of control is the emphasis he places on hegemony. The maintenance of power by a social group is exercised by the coercive force of the state, but only when its hegemonic hold over the masses is lost and they have become detached from their traditional values. It is the hegemonic pressures which are the key elements in the maintenance of power for the dominant group.

If perhaps Gramsci's perception of the concepts, state and civil society, is not altogether consistent, nevertheless the concepts have value theoretically. The concept of hegemony is valuable, not least for the reasons already suggested, but also because Gramsci perceived that hegemony was not imposed but was involved in struggle between differing tendencies. This means that hegemony, as a concept for use in analysis, focuses upon conflicts and upon the response of hegemonic activity to these conflicts.

Hegemony and ideology (Gramsci)

However it is not sufficient to examine Gramsci's concept of 'hegemony' without also looking at his overall perception of the nature of ideology, placing each within the broader context of his concern with 'control'. Without this overall view, something of the nature of 'hegemony', as Gramsci perceives it, is lost. Hegemony, for example, is firmly linked to 'ideologies', or as he calls them 'conceptions of life', and these are seen as a historically necessary feature of society. Firstly, 'historicist' in orientation, ideologies are seen as serving class interests. They are not mere expressions of a class, being much more complex. But it is more correct to speak of 'ideologies' than 'ideology' for they 'organise groups together':

> "They 'organise' human masses, or create a terrain on which men move, and acquire consciousness of their position, struggle etc." 34

Secondly, more 'structuralist' in orientation, 'ideology is perceived as having an essential function. It serves to cement and unify "the ideological unity of the entire social bloc."' 35

These are important emphases given to Gramsci's conception of ideology, the latter conception taken up later, if unacknowledged by Althusser. In the former case then ideologies are seen as crucial elements in the class struggle, as already suggested, and are part of Gramsci's 'historicist' orientation. Not only does the dominant ideology 'preserve the unity of the social bloc', as a whole, but different ideologies cement classes and class fractions into their positions of superiority and subordination. In Gramsci's discussion of the building of a party, for example, ideologies serve to produce a

homogeneity of views between the leadership and the rank and file. The movement, Gramsci points out,

> "... in order to produce certain results, creates the necessary preconditions, and indeed devotes all its forces to the creation of these preconditions." 36

But conceptions of life, along with hegemony and common sense are all crucial elements in his explanations of the way in which the unity of the social bloc is preserved. Once again, as Hall suggests, this important perception "... points forward to the I.S.A. Essay" [37] of Althusser, and is indicative of the structuralist tendencies to be found in Gramsci's work.

It is possible even to argue that, while historicist and structuralist orientations appear opposed, nevertheless the concept of ideology as a world view on the one hand, and in terms of structure on the other, are not necessarily incompatible. Arguably the concept of ideology, in the sense of expressing class interests on the one hand, and the base-superstructure orientation on the other, can be synthesised to some extent. [38] Most however argue that "structuralist marxism is diametrically opposed to .... historicism". [39] Overall it is perhaps more realistic to suggest that Gramsci's work "occupies a pivotal position" in relation to the work of structural marxism as a whole. [40] Certainly many of his ideas provide an important springboard for developments in Althusser's structuralist theory.

Gramsci's conception of ideology is not a simple positivistic one either, but it does have firm material links. Indeed it can be

argued that the concept takes on a new significance in Gramsci's writings. It is seen "...as a 'material force' in history, far removed from the ... theory of ideology as a simple reflection of economic base"[41]. At the same time however "Gramsci explores the specific forms of the organisation and propagation of ideology and culture as an aspect of the class struggle." [42] Exploring the propagation of ideology in this latter sense reveals the degree of complexity which Gramsci attributes to the mechanisms and processes concerned with the maintenance of class hegemony. The actual process, for instance, whereby the 'ruling class' is formed, he perceives as one of gradual but continuous absorption of the active elements produced by allied and antagonistic groups. This absorption of the enemy's élites ensures their powerlessness often for a long period of time.[43] Hegemonic activity is seen as essential before any group is capable of rising to power.

It is this perception of ideology which is so important for this research. It serves to place the focus on the processes and mechanisms which establish a course out of many varied ideas emerging from different groups.

So, what is important about this for my thesis is that Gramsci's perception of hegemony and ideologies avoids simplistic explanations. These concepts have the potential for revealing the various contradictory strands which come to be fused together in the overall sub-culture related, for example, to the teacher education course which I am studying. Hegemonic beliefs may be firmly and unconsciously held; nevertheless a partial rejection of or resistance to hegemonic ideologies can be traced by means of these concepts. It is evident that resistances to the dominant ideas being introduced,

with regard to the teacher education course, are going to be an important feature of any negotiations concerning the suitability and viability of a new course.

Althusser's ruling ideology

For Althusser, the concept of 'ruling ideology' is explained predominantly in terms of structures: the RSA and the ISAs, i.e. The Repressive State Apparatus and the Ideological State Apparatuses respectively.[44] Such State Apparatuses serve as a means of control but, as with Gramsci's emphasis on the importance of hegemonic power deriving from Civil Society, it is the ISAs which Althusser sees as the more influential. It is largely through ideology or the ISAs that the conditions of existence are reproduced. More specifically, it is through the ISAs, that the ideology of the ruling class becomes the ruling ideology. Such an emphasis upon ideology, especially ruling ideology, has the potential for examining the process by which the dominant ideas are established within the educational group.

This distinction between the RSA and the ISAs, which Althusser makes, builds upon traditional marxist theory. What Marx termed the State Apparatus, which includes the Government, the Police and the Army, are for Althusser the RSA. Out of the RSA stem pressures and constraints which are very largely though not exclusively measures of repression, repression by force if necessary. The ISAs e.g. religion, education, family, on the other hand, function predominantly through ideology. There is only one RSA and this belongs to the public domain, while there are a number of ISAs.[45]

We can clearly see here a relation between these 'structures' and Gramsci's conceptions of state and civil society. But unlike Gramsci's perception there is no narrow function for each. Despite this Althusser links the use of force predominantly, not exclusively, with the RSA and the use of ideology predominantly with the ISAs. Clearly the reproduction of the 'conditions of existence' is maintained by an interweaving of 'ideology' and 'repression'. What seems to emerge is that the RSA provides the political conditions within which the ISAs work. For Althusser then, the concept of 'ruling ideology' is explained in terms of structures and is seen as a means of unifying the diversity of the ISAs. It is a complex phenomenon since it relates, not only to the contemporary ruling class, but also to former 'ruling classes' who still retain strong positions, and even to the 'exploited classes' which are able to find a means of expressing themselves within it.[46] Specifically, with regard to the subsequent study, there is no doubt that such a perception of 'ruling ideology' allows for the struggle between traditional and progressive ideas in education, for example, to be identified, traced and examined.

Like Gramsci's perception of 'hegemony', ruling ideology does not operate in any simple way. For Althusser it is disturbed by contradictions which emerge, for example, out of the struggles of the former 'ruling classes', or of the 'exploited classes'. Nevertheless the 'ruling ideology' is vitally important in that it serves to integrate all of these, ensuring an overall harmony between the RSA and the ISAs and also between the different ISAs. In many ways this perception can be seen as functionalist in the sense that it seeks to establish harmony within a social formation, although the notion of 'domination' by a 'ruling ideology' tends to negate this.

One interesting innovation in Althusser's perception is the notion of the existence of one dominant ISA at any particular historical period. This is important for my thesis, perhaps more from the point of view of content rather than method . What I am referring to is the emphasis Althusser places on the importance of the educational ISA in capitalist societies. In the pre-capitalist period Althusser points to the Church as the dominant ISA, concentrating within it not only religious functions, but also educational and cultural ones alongside that of communication. He argues however that it is the educational ISA, which has become important in mature capitalist societies. The school-family couplet, as he terms it, has replaced that of the church-family. While all ISAs contribute towards the reproduction of the relations of production[47], nevertheless it is the ruling ideology which claim dominance over all. In his concern with contradictions which act upon the ruling ideology, added to his focus on the important ISA at a particular historical period, Althusser's work serves to give an added dimension to Gramsci's concept of hegemony, which is likely to prove useful to the establishment of a theoretical framework for the forthcoming study. At the same time the importance which Althusser places on the educational ISA, reinforces the importance of education as a subject for analysis in contemporary society.

Gramsci and the role of the 'intellectuals'

Gramsci's explanation of hegemony is reinforced further, for it rests upon the perceived existence of a social group, a group of 'intellectuals', who are in a position to organise, produce and propagate dominant ideas. Gramsci argues that there is no single group of intellectuals, each social group having its own stratum.[48]

Nevertheless there is normally one progressive group, which finally subjugates the intellectuals of the other social groups. This in Gramsci's view serves to create a system of solidarity between all the intellectuals, establishing bonds of a psychological nature. This development manifests itself 'spontaneously' in the historical periods in which the social group is really progressive. Once the dominant group has exhausted its functions, the ideological bloc tends to crumble away and spontaneity is likely to be replaced by constraints in ever less disguised and less indirect forms. [49]

What is important about this conception of a group of intellectuals is that they are seen as the dominant group's 'deputies', exercising subaltern functions of social hegemony and political government.[50] It is their task to obtain this spontaneous consent, from the masses, to the general direction imposed by the dominant group. Perhaps the most influential factor which serves to bring this about can be attributed to the prestige and confidence which the dominant group has been able to establish. Now it is evident that my study is concerned with a group who may be considered intellectuals in this sense. Certainly there is little doubt that teachers are important deputies of the dominant group who exercise "... the subaltern functions of social hegemony".[51] They are in a powerful position to propagate ideas for they have indeed a 'captive' audience and are in the business of attempting to establish many important values amongst their pupils. In fact Gramsci points to the 'unprecedented expansion' of those who may fall into the category of intellectuals. He argues that the democratic-bureaucratic system 'has given rise to a mass of functions'[52] which are not all justified by the social necessities of production. They are however politically

necessary for the dominant group which, if this notion is accepted, reinforces the need to consider critically the activities of such groups as college tutors and teachers in schools.

When one takes into account Althusser's idea that education has become the dominant ISA in mature capitalist societies, then there is no doubt that a group of students is likely to become an important stratum of intellectuals. Added to this, those who teach such students can be said to be in an even more powerful position in relation to the process of 'professional socialisation' taking place in a college. The attitudes and values which these tutors hold and in this particular case which these 'embryo' teachers hold, modify or develop, during their higher education course, can be perceived as having especial importance in the hegemonic process.

As I have already suggested, in the following study one of the key emphases is upon this hegemonic process and the way it comes to penetrate both the political and educational spheres. What this study is seeking to do is to establish the way in which particular educational ideas come to be seen as 'spontaneous' and quite natural by those involved, on the one hand, with the planning and implementation of a higher education course and, on the other, with the compilation of government reports on the education of teachers. This notion of 'intellectuals' is an important one, in particular with regard to the 'content' if not the 'method' involved in the forthcoming study. But it also means that groups of teachers-in-training, and the tutors concerned with 'professional socialisation' are, potentially at least, important foci for a study of hegemonic activity.

Practical and theoretical ideologies (Althusser)

Besides hegemony there are two specific concepts which are particularly important for my study: 'practical' and 'theoretical' ideologies. These are drawn largely from Althusser's work, the first referring to a broad concept of ideology, which Althusser perceives as being the way individuals live their relations to the real conditions of existence.[53] This is a very important aspect of Althusser's perception of ideology, for the emphasis is on 'lived experience' not merely thought. Practical ideologies serve to give rise to a particular way of thinking and acting, to particular assumptions. The everyday objects in our environment and patterns of behaviour are penetrated by practical ideologies . But it is important to emphasise that practical ideologies are inseparable from the social relations of production, having thus a firm material base.

While not especially emphasising this aspect, Althusser points to the existence of theoretical ideologies . However, since these are closely related to practical ideologies, they form an integral part of his explanation. In his later work, "Lenin and Philosophy" Althusser discusses the notion of theoretical and practical ideologies much more in terms of the class struggle than hitherto, and in some ways this could be considered to be somewhat historicist in orientation, not so far removed from Gramsci's perspective, as he, Althusser, might like to think. The antagonists in the class struggle are represented in the domain of practical ideologies by world outlooks which are represented by philosophy.[54]

This distinction between practical and theoretical ideologies, it can be argued, bears some resemblance to Gramsci's distinction between common sense and philosophy , although these are by no means the same thing. Theoretical ideologies are systems of thought which serve as a background against which assumptions and points of view come to be defined and formed. Practical ideologies however are the key to Althusser's conception of ideology as being the way men live their relation to the real conditions of existence. As Sharp has remarked, they are complex formations of "... notions-representations-images on the one hand and ... of behaviour-conduct attitudes and gestures on the other."[55] They govern people's attitudes and provide them with a socially defined way of thinking and acting. They provide them also with sets of basic assumptions, so that meaning and a common understanding are possible. A marxist orientation of course must go much further than this and, inevitably, practical ideologies are seen as an inseparable part of the social relations of production.

Common sense and philosophy (Gramsci)

While Gramsci does not appear especially concerned with the constitution of the subject, certainly not to the extent that Althusser is, nevertheless at a societal level as we have seen, he examines the way in which the ruling class propagates hegemony. A key concept in his explanation of the way in which the dominated classes absorb ideology is 'common sense'. He points out that the propagation of this common sense thinking is the chief means by which we come to perceive and understand the world around us. Certainly common sense is a key concept in his explanation of control, along with 'conceptions of life' and hegemony. It is a

way of thinking, common to most, in a particular society at a particular historical period. But what is important in Gramsci's view is that common sense is largely unconscious and, because of this, uncritical. It is a composite phenomenon, containing elements from past and present and including the many prejudices of each. A complementary element influencing the way we think is 'philosophy', more closely akin to Althusser's theoretical ideologies. This presents us with a more intellectually ordered set of conceptions.[56] These two concepts represent an attempt by Gramsci to understand the way in which ideology is disseminated throughout, and absorbed by, the population or group. Certainly it presents us with some important ideas, which help to conceptualise the relationship between consciousness and ideology. This distinction between common sense and philosophy, it can be argued, is not so very different from Althusser's distinction between practical and theoretical ideologies. In fact the notion of common sense, in reference to everyday current thinking in education, provides also a valuable theoretical concept with which to examine both the Teacher Education Course and the Government Reports on the education and training of teachers.

What is important about this distinction is that it becomes possible to refer to ideology, both as an abstract system of thought and as actual lived experience as well. Philosophy refers more to an organised set of conceptions, while common sense of a particular social class or group is more spontaneous. Gramsci argues that the individual has no theoretical consciousness of his practical activity[57] and he stresses the incoherence and fragmentary nature of common sense. It is no single, unique conception and takes countless forms. Even in any one individual it is fragmentary, although

it conforms with the social and cultural orientations which are dominant.[58]

As I have suggested, the concept of common sense has a significance for my thesis because, like Althusser's concept of practical ideologies, it provides a useful tool for analysis. As a theoretical concept it can provide a means of examining the way in which ideas are appropriated. For Gramsci it is our day-to-day living in which this common sense develops which is so important. This has implications for my study, in that these concepts focus my attention on the thinking and activities surrounding the planning and implementation of a Teacher Education course. The concept of 'philosophy', more akin to Althusser's theoretical ideology, with its emphasis on systematic organised thought[59], provides a means of analysing the syllabus and overall objectives of the course.

What is significant about Gramsci's understanding of these two concepts is that consciousness is related certainly to more abstract forms of thought, but more important still, to material existence and concrete social activity. This feature is also clearly crucial to, and supremely important in, Althusser's work.

Ideology, the individual and education

Althusser attempts a theory which accounts for the processes and mechanisms whereby the subject is 'constituted' or 'produced' in society. Two levels are involved, practical and theoretical ideologies, but these two levels, as I have suggested, are closely related. From the point of view of my present study, the concept of 'practical ideologies involves an educationally defined way of

thinking and acting, and sets of assumptions about education.[60] Practical ideologies can be perceived as embedded in educational phenomena, including such things as particular behaviour and thought patterns, in this case related to higher education. Theoretical ideology, on the other hand, is a concept for examining the ideals and more generalised thinking concerned with, for example, what is seen as desirable in higher education. This can most often be seen in educationalists' concern with aims and objectives, and with the general ethos of a course most frequently to be found in the detailed syllabuses and course programmes. Such material, it may be hypothesised, reveals more abstract systems of thought, presenting guidelines for the practical ideologies as they impinge on the every-day educational activities and thought processes concerned with the course.

Althusser's analysis of the way in which the individual is constituted or produced provides a useful insight also into the workings of ideology, which has significance for the forthcoming study. This is concerned with the penetration of practical ideologies in the individual's day-to-day experiences. Certainly, as far as work within the marxist orientation is concerned it is only comparatively recently that the focus has moved towards the notion of 'subjectivity' or the 'problem of the individual'.[61] Althusser seeks to produce a 'theory' which claims to analyse human consciousness within the framework of ideology, of which the 'constitution of the subject' is an important aspect. Some will go so far as to argue that, in his efforts to understand the mechanisms of control involved, Althusser explains the notion of subjectivity wholly through ideology,[62] and indeed ideology seems to have an all-embracing nature in his analysis. Partly this may result from

his rejection of positivist and historicist approaches, moving him away from simplistic economistic and class explanations. But partly this stems from his efforts to understand how ideology actually works, and to move away from descriptive theory.

The basis of Althusser's understanding of ideology at the level of the individual then is to be found in his explanation of practical ideologies, which are perceived as having a material existence, i.e. existing in an 'apparatus' and its practices. Individuals are seen to live, to pass their daily lives 'in ideology', in a determinate representation of the world. Their daily existence is rooted in, and bounded by, material practices. This can be perceived in Althusser's explanation of the way in which an individual's ideas and actions interweave with specific material rituals. He points out that the ideas of an individual are assumed to exist in his actions. These latter are inserted into practices "... which are governed by material rituals, which are themselves defined by the material ideological purpose." This tends to stress the determinate nature of the environment, or more specifically the determinate nature of ideology, whereby the consciousness of the individual is seen virtually as the effect of ideology. Althusser raises the issue of the 'total' conception of ideology, when he argues that there is no practice except in or by ideology, that there is no ideology except by and for the subjects,[64] and that ideology has a material base. In an earlier work the notion of the material existence of ideology is perhaps made more explicit, for ideology is seen as a 'system of representations', which conception includes images, concepts but, above all, 'structures', which impinge on men via their unconscious.[65]

Althusser however goes further and seeks to understand the actual process of the constitution of the individual within society.[66] Individuals, he suggests, undergo a process of 'interpellation', which process constitutes them as subjects. Since for Althusser it is only in and through ideology that the individual lives, an understanding of this process is especially important and should throw some light on the processes at work in the implementation of the Professional Studies course which is the subject of my thesis. Once the individual has submitted to higher authorities he is "... stripped of all freedom except that of freely accepting his submission".[67] When this has happened he makes the gesture and actions of his 'subjection' of his own 'free will'. In other words the individual is free , but only in so far as he is constituted to be.

So how does Althusser consider that this comes about? The process of interpellation takes place through the constant practising of rituals which occur in everyday life. Althusser points out that if we hail an individual in the street, for example, more often than not this calls for the 'right' response from the 'right' person.[68] Similarly in everyday life, ideology is everywhere, in everything we do and think, even when we suspect a thing is neutral . This means that common understandings and sets of beliefs come to be universal and everywhere, such that the right reactions and behaviour occur unthinkingly and in common with that of others. This is not far removed from Gramsci's concept of common sense , which pervades the rituals, practices and beliefs of everyday life. For Althusser, our recognition of others and events is possible because we live in ideology, which contains and limits our thinking and our day-to-day activities. Althusser compares these ideas to those of Freud, in the

sense that a child is perceived as subject even before birth by means of the specific, familial and ideological configuration into which he is expected. The ideological constraints, and the rituals of child-rearing and their education in the family, are perceived as bearing relation to Freud's notions of pre-genital and genital stages.[69]

But in more detailed terms, Althusser perceives that the structure of all ideology is 'speculary', i.e. a mirror-structure.[70] All ideology is 'centred', interpellating around it "... the infinity of individuals into subjects in a double mirror-connection". This ensures that each subject "can contemplate its own image"[71] in this 'centred' ideology, guaranteeing that 'everything really is so'.

Althusser's analysis provides us with a possible foundation on which to base and pursue further the notion of 'subjectivity'. He has to be able to explain how structures come to bear upon the individual, and the notion of 'interpellation' provides a possible key to such an understanding. All this has relevance, in a general sense at least, for my analyses of both Government Reports and the Teacher Education course which is the focus of my research. The notion of 'subjectivity' can however be seen to apply to this study, in the sense that it is concerned with a Professional Studies course which acts as part of a process of 'professional socialisation' of teachers. Such students, it can be argued, become 'subjects' by being 'inserted' into the ideological meanings and practices of such a course. The subject's relation to these meanings and practices, it can be argued, is 'produced' in this way, but it is evident that such a course involves only a small part of the 'total' meanings and practices which could be available. The relevance of this for analysis of Government documents

is somewhat similar in that ideological meanings infuse such documents and again are likely to be only part of the total meanings available.

There is little doubt that the concept of 'practical' ideologies is a potentially valuable one for examining the ideological experience of the Professional Studies course on which I am focusing. Such experience is to be found in the routines and practices which structure the teaching and learning of such a course. The organisation of the College, the courses, the tutors and the students help to constitute subjects with the 'right' skills, the 'right' attitudes and values.[72]

Besides the concept of 'practical' ideologies, however, the concept of theoretical ideology[73] must also be considered. In many ways, it can be suggested that the latter is perhaps closer to the traditional view of ideology, referring to abstract systems of thought. A useful concept for analysis also, it is clearly closely linked in a reciprocal sense with practical ideologies, with their material embodiment. What theoretical ideology tends to do is to insert individuals into more generalised forms of consciousness. An important example, in relation to this study is undoubtedly to be found in the syllabus of the College course, and in the Government Reports to be analysed.

Ideology and the imaginary

A significant feature of ideology for Althusser is to be found in the 'imaginary' nature of the relationship between men and their day-to-day existence. This is not to be confused with the earlier

marxist perception of false consciousness. Indeed, it can be argued that Marx perceived, in 'Capital', that ideologies were not 'false' as such, that Marx's view had moved from a perception of ideas as false, in the sense of illusory'[74] to one which perceived ideologies as real, but hiding another set of relations which were no less real. This distinction is important for Althusser's explanation. Althusser rejects all notion of a 'historicist' conception of ideology, whereby a small number of men are perceived as basing their domination of others on a false representation of the world. What he does, is to perceive ideology as an underlying structure, suggesting the existence of a hidden element. Certainly he makes the assumption that ideology is distorted, but his explanation rests on the notion that ideology is a representation of the imaginary relationship of individuals to reality. It is not their real condition of existence, their real world that men find represented in ideology, but their 'relation' to this world. It is this relation which underlies all the imaginary distortion that we can observe in ideology.[75] Men express in ideology the way they live the relation between them and their conditions of existence, not the 'relation' itself. The refraction to be found in ideology stems from this. The way men perceive and live this relation involves a refraction of the real, "This pre-supposes both a 'real' relation and an 'imaginary' 'lived' relation,"[76] a view which exposes Althusser to criticism. Certainly it is difficult to identify the real, as few ways exist to move beyond this imaginary relation in order to do so.

Ideology and the economy

Althusser attaches importance to the economic structure in his explanations of ideology. It forms the base, whilst 'levels' or

'instances', including the ideological, form the superstructures. However Althusser is careful to avoid the simple economistic assumptions that the superstructures are mere reflections of the base and his theory suggests a much greater complexity of relationship. While there is perhaps a certain lack of clarity about some of his perceptions, nevertheless each level is seen as determinate of the other levels, in a reciprocal sense, but it is the economic which is seen to be determinate of the superstructural levels in the last instance. Something of this complexity can be found in Althusser's early work, in his discussion of the growth of a revolutionary situation. To begin with, he argues, a contradiction must already exist between the forces and relations of production but, in order for this contradiction to become active , there has to be accumulation of circumstances and currents so that they fuse into a unity. This presupposes not only a fusion of the two basic conditions, but of an accumulation of contradictions of different origins and different levels. The basic contradiction may dominate a period but it must also dominate the contradictions at all levels.[77] The relationship between the superstructural levels and the economic base is perhaps usefully summed up by Giddens. He points out that Althusser sometimes compares the influence of the economy to the unconscious in psychoanalysis. It cannot be directly observed, but exists refracted through the other structures.[78] What is important is that Althusser stresses that economic phenomena need to be perceived as complex in their structure. This serves to avoid the concept of linear causality being applied.[79]

Relevance of Gramsci and Althusser to my study

What seems to emerge is that ideas developing, particularly in Althusser's later work and the ideas of Gramsci with regard to the concept of ideology and society, are often not far removed from one another. Certainly they are not so far removed as one might have thought by the labels of 'historicist' and 'structuralist' which have been attributed to them. What seems to me to be especially important about this is that it is useful to be able to discern some common elements in the thinking of Althusser and Gramsci, in addition to merely drawing on certain concepts from their work.

Certainly in Gramsci's work there are certain elements of what might be termed 'structuralism', if to some extent they are in embryo form, (although many will deny this, as for example Althusser). Ideology is perceived as a superstructure in which individuals gain their consciousness.

> "Men become conscious of fundamental conflicts on the level of ideology ... (which) ... is not psychological or moralistic in character, but structural and epistemological". [80]

It could even be argued as well that certain 'positivistic' tendences exist in Gramsci's understanding of the relationship between base and superstructure: structures and superstructures are conceived of as forming a complex and contradictory 'ensemble', yet the ensemble of superstructures are the reflection of the 'ensemble' of the social relations of production.[81] However, Gramsci firmly rejects 'positivist', economistic explanations, and in particular any simple unilinear causal relationship between base and superstructure. For him there can be no clear division between ideology and 'economic base', nor any clear causal link between the two. For

Althusser too the superstructures are not related, in a cause and effect sense, to the economic base. The relationship is one of reciprocal determination. There is a unity of levels or instances, i.e. of the economic structure and the superstructures, certainly with the former as the final important determining factor. For Althusser "'the whole existence of the structure consists of its effects', ... the structure ... is nothing outside its effects".[82] This leads to an understanding that the superstructures and economic base are part of the whole. Seeing these elements as part of the totality, and not as causally related, is an important feature of my thesis.

In the present study I intend examining the relationship between teacher education and ideology, in particular hegemonic ideology. This is being undertaken in an effort to understand the way in which power is mediated between education and wider social and economic structure. The form and content of the Professional Studies course, it can hypothesised, are linked to ideology and hegemony and these concepts provide a basis for examining how the course acts as an agency of control. They also have the potential for analysing the tensions and struggles which take place during the planning and implementation of the Professional Studies course, leading to subsequent changes and modifications.

Using the concept of hegemony ensures an awareness of the role of power and ideology in education, and seeks to reveal the beliefs and values, the theoretical ideology of the dominant culture. But hegemony is also to be found in the practical ideologies, in the routines and practices of day-to-day living. Hegemony serves to define the limits of discourse and to re-formulate ongoing perceptions, as well as making particular ideas appear natural . This is

especially relevant for the section of this study which deals with the analysis of Government Reports. As has been discussed, education is seen as an ISA[83] acting as a 'mediator' between the dominant culture and everyday living, a crucial element of social control. The Professional Studies course is one aspect of the training of the teachers, who will ultimately help 'socialise' pupils into the dominant cultural beliefs and values.

Such concepts, it is felt, serve to reveal the 'rationality' that underpins the planning and implementation and evaluation of the Professional Studies course, and its links with the wider social context. Such 'rationality' is likely to be tied to traditional perceptions of 'appropriate' higher education but, at the same time, it is likely also to be constantly modified in the changing social and economic conditions.

Certainly, out of the various 'theories' which I could have selected, I believe that the above concepts, selected from the work of Gramsci and Althusser, provide me with vitally important tools for analysis. It is these concepts which, in my view, provide me with a means of identifying and tracing various levels of ideology. And it is these two sociologists, Gramsci and Althusser, who are especially aware of this complexity. At the same time they are each concerned with both the conscious and unconscious aspects of ideology, as embedded in language, in everyday practices and routines and in the general thought processes.

Language and ideology

Much of the focus of my thesis is on 'language' as the main vehicle of ideology, whether I am specifically concerned with 'discourse analysis', a mode of analysing Government Reports, or with an examination of the Professional Studies course. As Sharp points out, much of the 'advance in the understanding of 'ideology', within the last decade, has centred around the question of language.'[84] Language is in fact the 'mediator' of ideological signs and experience is likely to be influenced by language. But

> "Ideology cannot be reduced to, nor thought of as identified with, language, but the way in which men come to understand their world and act within it is subject to the mediation of language."[85]

Certainly, the partially 'unconscious' structure of language is fundamentally important, since it may well be that the words we use actually incline our thinking in a particular direction, thus detracting from potentially independent thought. Words may be 'neutral' in themselves, but they can become more than this inasmuch as they are located within ideologies, both 'practical' or 'theoretical'. They provide therefore an important key to understanding ideologies. It seems likely also that there is a relationship between 'hegemony' and 'patterns of linguistic dominance'.'[86]

Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis is concerned with more than language. It does not simply focus upon the rules by which a particular statement is made, but on the reasons why one particular statement is made rather than another.'[87] It examines the different strategies that a text employs to present its material in a particular way. Donald, in his analysis

of a Government Green Paper on Education argues that he is

> "questioning its status as knowledge, the ways in which this status is defined and created, and the economic and political roles that it plays."88

Discourse analysis involves itself in questions of power and the ways in which the discourse is embedded in particular systems of power relationships. I believe that the work of Burton and Carlen, and the work of Donald, provide me with useful conceptual tools for analysis.

General comments

The following thesis is concerned with the planning and implementation of an educational course, introduced into a BEd Honours degree year, at a particular College of Education, comprising at the time three separate but merging colleges. The small size of the sample in these colleges is justified, I believe, on the grounds that this is not a broad statistical study, but a case study of what was occurring at a particular time, in one particular institution. My thesis does not concern itself with correlations between variables, as would a statistical study. It is concerned with showing how ideology works, how 'contradictions' underpinning ideologies show themselves and the fact that various levels, i.e. practical and theoretical ideologies are at work in the process.

In addition it is not my intention to correlate the findings of the empirical investigation of the implementation of the Professional Studies course, with Government policy as 'produced' by Reports. I am looking at the workings and mechanisms of ideology, in both the wider and narrower contexts, i.e. in the 'production' of Government Reports, and in the implementation of the Professional Studies course at college level.

I hypothesise that some interesting findings are likely to be revealed by placing wider policy developments alongside the narrow implementation of a particular educational course. One of my main aims in the study however is to identify and trace the various contradictions in the mechanisms of ideology, both at the wider and at the narrower level. It is these contradictions, I would argue, which provide a key for understanding developments in each case.

A case study which concerns itself with ideology has to be seen in context, in order for certain features to be clarified. The implementation of the Professional Studies course at college level in 1978-79 and then in 1979-80, six or so years after the publication of an influential Report[89] on the fundamental reorganisation of teacher education and training, should be illuminating with regard to the mechanisms of ideology. This is particularly important in a sphere which is inevitably a fundamental 'repository' of ideology, i.e. educational policy.

In my thesis I am not using an established framework as such, for either aspect of my analysis. I have drawn up my own structure from selected concepts, all derived from work within an overall critical perspective. Out of these conceptual tools, provided by several thinkers, I have devised my own framework for analysis.

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Chapter 2. ANALYSIS OF THE PROFESSIONAL STUDIES CREDIT: EARLY PLANNING STAGES

Introduction

In this section of my study I am moving towards an analysis of the planning and implementation of PS 180, the Professional Studies course of the fourth year B.Ed. Honours degree, hereafter called the P.S. Credit, or P.S. 180, as named by the colleges. Material to be analysed is to be taken from three major sources: documents and records concerned with the planning and implementation of the course, questionnaires from students and, thirdly, tape recordings of interviews with tutors. Some additional material has been obtained through my participation at meetings, visits with tutors to students in schools and observation of tutor-student tutorials. Chapter 2 deals with an analysis of the initial planning of the course using primarily material obtained from the documents and interviews with tutors. Chapter 3 is concerned with the later planning and early implementation stages, material being drawn from similar sources plus student questionnaires, while the implementation stage is dealt with in Chapter 4. Material for this is drawn very largely from the interviews with tutors and the student questionnaires. The idea of analysing the material in three stages was partly drawn from the notions of Burton and Carlen[1], who proposed a three stage discourse analysis of government texts. The way ideas are introduced, reformulated and finally decided upon, bears some correspondence to the way this course has been established and seems to me to be particularly appropriate.

As already discussed, tracing the trends in the overall thinking and the decisions that are made does not mean that I am looking for the

origins and causes of decisions taken. The focus of my analysis is upon the P.S. Credit, embedded within the wider socio-economic context and the institutional conditions prevailing at a particular time, i.e. the mid- to late 1970's. Rather than origins and causes then, the emphasis is on the mechanisms by which certain ideas and practices come to be established and the reasons why this new course develops as it does at this time, within this particular social context.

The background material so far has suggested that education and wider societal events and circumstances are firmly linked and that this course cannot satisfactorily be analysed in isolation from these events and circumstances. It can be argued that educational policy, and what goes on in educational institutions, are closely related to what is happening in wider society, both seeking "...to reproduce and modify existing social relations".[2] In a later section of my research, in which I analyse certain Government Reports, I hypothesise that, and examine the ways in which, the state produces a particular 'knowledge' about education, more especially teacher education. Analysing the planning and implementation of the P.S. Credit has something of the same 'flavour': it examines the ways in which a particular knowledge about the P.S. course comes to be produced and accepted. There are clearly differences between policies, as defined by government reports, and what is actually happening in educational institutions, but since they are both embedded in the same wider social context, particular kinds of thinking and practices may be identified in each. Both, it may be argued, seek to reproduce and modify existing social relations.

What appears to be happening in both education and wider society is that we are undergoing a period of fundamental change. It can be suggested that the

ideological underpinning of policies and events is involved in struggle and change, that a period of what may be termed 'crisis' can be identified, "The crisis of the educational sector is bound up with overall crisis of the economy and the state,"[3] it can be suggested, with crisis in one area being linked with crises in other areas. At the same time hegemonic, theoretical and practical ideologies, it can be argued, are being transformed. 'The crisis', for example, of the economy and the state can be seen as emanating from the ever-increasing expenditure of the welfare state which, it may be suggested, was beginning to impose serious strains on the economy by the early seventies. Additionally lower productivity was exacerbating the situation. The importance of this is that expenditure on welfare, reaching new proportions, as it did in the sixties, can be identified as a means of maintaining social control. Decline in expenditure on welfare and education, by contrast, suggests a comparable weakening of that control. Finn et al. argue that

> "It was overtly part of the social democratic ideology, part of the bargain struck with 'the people', that a faster rate of 'economic growth' was necessary in order to pay for ... more hospitals and schools."[4]

This line of argument suggests that the seventies are characterised by more uncertainty for the state with regard to control.

At the same time, the increasing emphasis upon 'vocational', as opposed to 'academic' factors in education, it can be argued, are part of the wider concern with economic success. Certainly the notion of 'mass' education tends not to suggest 'intellectualism' and, indeed, 'anti-intellectual' elements can be traced increasingly, I believe, in the Government Reports which are the focus of my later analyses. There seems little doubt that this move, towards what may be called vocational education, stressing the need for children to be prepared in more 'practical'

terms for further occupations, can be seen as part of the 'schooling for efficiency' syndrome. This suggests a possible change in hegemonic pressures by the late seventies. Donald argues that the dominant ideology about education has swung between the perception of 'schooling for efficiency' and the notion of 'education for citizenship' for over a century.[5] If this argument is accepted, the 'efficiency' emphasis then can be related to a constant shift back and forth in different eras, the key factor being the prevailing economic conditions.

It can also be suggested that the present concern with standards is a response partly to a decline in the belief that educational expansion, such as occurred in the sixties, can achieve particular, optimistic educational objectives, e.g. that education can lead towards a burgeoning economy, or that unstreaming can help the performance of working class children. Manifestly it does not. What is important is that this uncertainty and crisis in education, as has already been suggested, can be seen as part of the wider crisis in the economy. In fact Donald perceives that certain symptoms of 'crisis' in society are actually condensed in education.[6] Disillusion with education and its ability to 'deliver the goods' with regard to economic success has ensured a re-appraisal of the years of expansion in education. This means that, if education is to go on receiving the financial, social and political support that it has had hitherto, there has to be a re-consideration of what education is for, i.e. in this case, it must more nearly meet the needs of the economy no less! Such a crisis, it can be suggested, has resulted in three important contemporary political issues in education being raised. They concern

> "... the standards of basic skill training in school, the curriculum and its relationship to working life, and the control of schools and teachers."[7]

For Donald the key symptoms are not so very different. They are to be found in the cuts in expenditure, the battle over the curriculum and standards, and the struggle for the control of schools, centred around the notions of 'accountability'.[8]

What I am arguing here is that hegemonic notions are, certainly since the mid-seventies, much less securely tied to the 'older' or 'liberal-democratic' 'progressive' assumptions about education, about the need for the 'all-round educated' man or woman. Newer, narrower objectives appear to be challenging, modifying or replacing these wider and less tangible ones, and many strands of the underlying struggle are manifested arguably in concerns with 'standards' in education, with 'efficiency of teachers, and with 'accountability'. What is important about this, I believe, is that contrasting ideologies underpin these developments. Certainly the newer 'efficiency' ideology appears to be gaining ground.

Certain keys to understanding are relevant for the following analysis. These are to be found, it can be argued, in particular underlying contradictions. From this perspective, the notion of 'contradictions' is a crucial one. While education, for example, is seen as an important means of social control in reproducing the labour force, on the one hand, it has become an excessive drain on the financial expenditure of the state, on the other. Secondly, in order to maintain control, both coercion and consent are needed. It is possible to suggest that the first is to be found in theefforts by government to secure tighter management in education, while moves towards greater 'participatory democracy' suggest a means of attempting to secure 'consent', of "... bidding for the consent of the governed."[9] Both coercion and consent are two important aspects

of control which are central to Gramsci's and Althusser's thinking and the emphasis in each case is clearly on the latter. Thirdly, 'what is taught' comes under the microscope and has to be justified in terms of 'the whole child' or 'economic efficiency'. This is part of the intellectual / vocational dichotomy, which is most important in the subsequent analyses.

Taking as my object ideologies about education , in my research, I am seeking to examine the processes and struggles which produce the particular content and methods of the Professional Studies Credit within the Honours level course at three Colleges of Education. I am tracing how certain people were designated, and groups were formed to occupy positions of influence, how these and their ideas and perceptions combined or struggled to produce the finalised material and how different discourses served to legitimate decisions. I am looking at how these individuals/groups resolved particular contradictions, by containing them, in other words I am seeking to examine the mechanisms of 'hegemony'. Shifts or otherwise in the dominant ways of thinking about education are to be explained in terms of both 'theoretical' ideologies, i.e. the intellectual influences upon educational thinking, and 'practical' ideologies, i.e. the conditions and processes which influence the planning and implementation of the course. Both are part of the struggle of hegemony, of seeking to gain wider support. Education, it can be argued, has its own ideologies which

> "... express particular versions of what ideals are for, of how they work and of what it is possible for them to achieve."[10]

Before I begin my analysis of the P.S. Credit I believe it might be useful to summarise some of the findings of my analyses of the selected Government Reports and Papers. Explanations are closely tied to the wider social and economic context and it is in these Reports and Papers that I have identified and examined more specifically wider hegemonic thinking. Nevertheless the analysis of these Reports was not carried out until after the analysis of P.S. 180, and therefore did not place restrictions on my thinking with regard to the latter.

Summary of Government Reports

While earlier government reports, such as the Robbins Report, had been highly influential the seventies, it can be argued, showed a marked change of direction with its move away from the expansionist ideals of the 1960's in higher education. It seems therefore important to focus on the period immediately prior to, and surrounding, the initiation of the Professional Studies Credit. The James Report (1972) had been published only three years prior to the beginning of the negotiations of the Professional Studies course. It can therefore be considered to be part of the same social context, open to the same hegemonic influences, although there is no doubt that many of the recommendations of the Report were eclipsed by a change in economic climate shortly after its publication.

The James Report

What is important firstly is that the Report (1972) was particularly concerned with the notion that teacher education should be closely linked with the needs of schools. It was also important that professional training should have a common structure, whatever the age group of pupil

the students wished to teach. There were initiatives towards establishing an all-graduate profession and moves towards diversification of courses. What is also especially important here is that the Report made proposals for control and co-ordination of teacher training supply. Overall the emphasis was upon the upgrading of teacher qualifications and a lessening of the distinction between the two routes of entry into the profession, i.e. via degrees and Post Graduate Certificate courses and via college courses. Moves towards more centralised control of teacher training were also to be found alongside a concern with the need for the development of teaching skills, both factors, it may be argued, of especial importance to this study. These latter may, to some extent, be considered to be in embryo form in relation to developments to be found later in both the Bullock and Taylor Reports. Certainly, however, much of the thinking of the Report did not come to fruition, because of the need for economic restraint in teacher education, which made itself felt shortly after the Report's publication. Nevertheless this is an influential Report from the point of view of teacher education and this present analysis.

The Bullock Report

Some three years later, the Bullock Report (1975) was published and, while not specifically concerned with teacher or higher education, nevertheless, focused upon teachers and their training. The reason for this focus stemmed from the alleged inadequacy of standards, particularly in relation to literacy and numeracy. Comments were aimed at the schools, but also pertained specifically to teacher performance. The Report proposed that standards in schools should be externally monitored, which suggested that efforts were to be made to establish greater

control over what went on in schools. It was advised that there should be an agreed policy for each school, placing a certain limitation on teachers and their autonomy. From the point of view of this research, these recommendations are important since, if carried out, they would serve as a means for establishing greater control in education, as well as a way of obtaining an important degree of standardisation. This Report also contributed towards the 'accountability' movement in the sense that it was a response to 'public concern about standards and schools. This notion of course gathered momentum and was developed more fully in the Taylor Report (1977) two years later, and in other documents including the Green Paper published the same year.

The Taylor Report

With the Taylor Report (1977) the notion of 'accountability' was extended to include detailed plans for 'public participation'. As part of this overall concern the 'curriculum' of the school also became an important area of enquiry. School governors were to be appointed by L.E.A.'s to have greater control over, notonly the school, but the 'curriculum' as well. It was proposed that any person, who had a legitimate interest in schools, be they parents, teachers or lay persons from the community, should be represented on the governing body. Certainly schools should see to it that parents were better informed about the running of the school. It is not difficult to perceive that such measures, if implemented, would seriously weaken the autonomy of teachers and it is not surprising that the latters' response to the Report was in many ways unfavourable even hostile.[11] In the event many of the recommendations were not implemented but the general 'climate' to be perceived in the tone of the Report tends to be retained. Being

accountable of course meant that teachers were to accept a limitation to their autonomy. No doubt they have in the past been accountable,[12] nevertheless this Report suggests an attempt by the D.E.S. to deal with this directly, rather than indirectly through such processes as the examination system or IQ testing.[13].

Central to my analysis is the notion that the essence of education resides within

> ".. the nature of its relationship to those wider societal forces of which it is a part."[14]

In order to identify more specifically those 'wider societal forces', part of my research is concerned with an analysis of these particularly relevant Government Reports, published in the seventies. I am not, however, examining how these Reports are causally related to the Professional Studies Credit. What I am concerned with is to identify and trace the hegemonic processes in two separate, but interrelated, aspects of education, with one aspect more closely identifiable with the wider social context. In so doing I seek to understand which specific values and meanings are used to support the dominant culture, to identify the complexity of the existing modes of control and to reveal some of the underlying contradictions and tensions in each.

ANALYSIS OF PS CREDIT

Early Stages of Planning

Constraints and mechanisms of control

In one of the earliest documents concerned with the B.Ed. Honours year proposals, it was evident that certain constraints had already made themselves felt. Firstly, indications from C.N.A.A. were that there was a need for some form of continuing work in school, in the B.Ed. Honours degree fourth year course. Yet it was clear that the structure of the B.Ed. Ordinary degree already provided an existing constraint. It was argued that those moving on to the Honours year must already have successfully completed the three year Ordinary degree, but this also meant that they had therefore qualified already as teachers. If the C.N.A.A. recommendation was to be followed up, this meant that the nature of the school based work (SBW) had to be examined and developed from quite another point of view, i.e. other than as 'school experience' in the accepted sense.

The fact that any proposals for validation of the Honours year Professional Studies course had to satisfy C.N.A.A. meant that this body held almost total control over negotiations, a factor which is clearly seen in subsequent developments. What appears to be a readiness on the part of the College to accept the C.N.A.A. recommendations must in part, at least, be a response to this. What this situation sufficed to do was to eliminate, rapidly, crucial discussion over the fundamental issue of what a fourth year B.Ed. Honours degree course should contain. There had been, prior to September 1975, two submissions, (February and June, 1975), both of which had been rejected by C.N.A.A. With the rejection

of the first came an expression of concern by C.N.A.A. over the lack of an overall policy for 'school experience' in the Honours year proposals. With the second rejection came a more positive emphasis on the 'essential' nature of school experience as an element of the fourth year Honours course. Now clearly there must have been some opposition by the staff of the colleges at these earliest stages since, by the second set of proposals, while some changes had been made, they were evidently insufficient to satisfy C.N.A.A. So this elicited a second rejection. However no detailed documentation is available of the staff discussion at these stages.

Certainly in discussion, (i.e. interview), with those concerned with the early developments of PS 180, it became evident that certain perceptions were held by some staff very early on, which coincided with the tenets of the C.N.A.A. comments. It was felt for example that it would be wrong to say that the PS Credit had its origins exclusively in C.N.A.A. The original coordinator, clearly an influential member of the organisation, pointed out that many tutors had felt that it was wrong for a B.Ed. Honoursstudent to remove herself/himself from the direct practical concerns of the school for a whole year. Of course, it has to be remembered that, in the original proposals there was to have been an elective involving school based work available, in other words, for those who wanted it. Clearly then some tutors may already have been developing a rejection of the growing academic emphasis of the B.Ed. degree courses, especially noticeable in this Honours year planning. But what is evident is that others also quickly internalised the perceptions held by the 'dominant' individuals and groups, e.g. C.N.A.A. In this way they quickly came to perceive the necessity for school based work in the Honours year as quite natural . Hence pressures for a Professional Studies course almost certainly arose amongst certain tutors, as a

reaction to developments in the former university validated B.Ed. degree, which had a strong intellectual bias. The former degree had been, partially at least, a response, in those years of 'expansion', to pressures for academic quality which was perceived as attainable via the major disciplines in Education Studies. Those years were a quest for a B.Ed. degree which was theoretically satisfactory to the University. In that sense, the C.N.A.A. 'guidelines' merely served to spell out covert or subconscious ideas.

One issue that arises out of this is the relative positions of the College of Education and the University, a point at issue in the James Report, This sought, it may be argued, to wrest the power from the universities allegedly, at least, to establish greater comparability of status throughout higher education. This, no doubt, involved a certain expediency and economy in that common courses could be provided for potential teachers and others. This would enable higher education institutions to be more flexible e.g. in those lean years of teacher recruits when, for example, pupil numbers drop, avoiding wastage among staff of those institutions. At the same time it can be suggested that the universities, arguably rather more outside the control of the state by the very nature of their organisation than the Colleges were, appeared to be drawing the latter more closely into their orbit. If we accept that there are signs of serious struggle for more 'direct' control of teachers and teacher training by the state, against what might be seen as the growing independence and militancy of teachers, observable especially in the sixties,[14A] it can be hypothesised that the joint operation of the Universities and Colleges of Education would have meant that far too large a body of higher education would have existed outside the more 'direct' parameters of control by the state. This would have included the all-

important education of teachers. Thus the purpose of this separation, advocated in the James Report, may have been to split the two spheres, i.e. 'divide and weaken', while at the same time drawing teacher education more directly into the state's sphere of control. Subsequent happenings suggest that a further struggle might well be currently taking place between the universities and the state, as the universities and higher education in turn suffer cutbacks within their own ranks. It is possible to see this as an attempt to weaken further, via expenditure cuts, the power of the universities and colleges in the tertiary sector, while the technological universities and the polytechnics appear to be treated somewhat differently.

However from the point of view of course planning, what these two initial rejections had effectively done was to draw limits on the way the B.Ed. Honours year in general, and the Professional Studies Credit in particular, were to be thought about. It meant that future discussions had to include a consideration of school based work. By November 1975 then, thinking concerning the structure of the Honours year credit already included some, perhaps even a surprising degree of consensus, on the part of the tutors concerned, over the need for some form of continuing work in school. No doubt as a means of supporting and giving strength to this, 'favourable' groups were drawn into the discussions, including teachers as well as members of the original Committee who held positive views on the matter. Even at this early stage, it was evident then that the notion of 'continuing work in schools' was not going to meet any serious opposition.

What I am saying is that, whether school-based work should be part of the Honours course was no longer the issue at this relatively early point. The issue to be discussed, if not examined, was the nature of

the school-based work as part of the Honours course. Suggestions were made that contact with schools should be related to work in college and assessed as part of the degree. This presumably sought to eliminate problems of assessment of actual teaching, for as already explained, these students had already qualified as teachers in the third year. Thus teaching quality as such could not be assessed as part of the Honours degree. There was however no longer any real discussion of what the various components of the Honours year might be, nor any sign of further struggle for the colleges' original proposal to be accepted, a proposal which contained no compulsory school based work as such.

Other constraints emanated from the existing structure of the B.Ed. Ordinary degree which had already been validated by C.N.A.A. and had been implemented at this point. The change to another overall structure was therefore no longer a realistic proposal. Had a 2 + 2 degree existed, whereby Honours students might be selected at the end of the second year to follow a two year Honours course, it might have been possible for students to experience school-based work in the more traditional assessible form. The possibility of such a structure had however necessarily been eliminated, since there had been a focus on the B.Ed. Ordinary degree in the earliest submissions, deriving from an anxiety to get the latter 'off the ground' first, as a matter of expediency . What is important about this constraint is that it served to emphasise the difficulties for college tutors in their efforts to establish school-based work in the Honours degree. It presented a dilemma. The course must take place in schools; it must be assessible; it must have credibility for an Honours level course but it must not involve assessment of the students' teaching.

The proposed structure of the fourth year B.Ed. Honours course at this early point in 1975 involved four areas of work, of equal weighting and these were referred to as Credits, continuity between the Ordinary and Honours degree structure being recommended by C.N.A.A.. In the earlier proposals two Credits had been concerned with Education Studies (Ed. St.), one with Main Subject Field (MSF), the remaining one being an elective. Early suggestions had included a proposal that there was a need to consider whether the professionally based work should be included in the two Education Credits or fill the Elective slot. The rationality underpinning the need for two Education Credits in the Honours course was based on the perceived need to compensate for a very small proportion of Education Studies in the three year Ordinary degree programme. What was seen as the essential nature of Education Studies clearly became the legitimation for maintaining the two Education Studies Credits in the Honours year. The Elective Credit, on the other hand, held less credibility and suggestions were made that it should be diminished by half to make room for the Professional Studies unit. What seems evident here is that the 'weakest link in the chain' gave ground to accommodate at least some Professional Studies while the vested interests of the Education Studies and Main Subject sought to retain their original positions. Struggle over this was not altogether apparent from the records but, I would suggest, is likely to have taken place. A possible alternative might have been sought in replacing the four credit framework with another structure, but this was not really questioned, since it was felt that the 'logic' of the Ordinary degree could be retained in this four credit structure to provide some continuity all the way through. An abrupt change of gear in the fourth year course was not envisaged or thought desirable. By November (document dated 22.11.75)

proposals had moved still further. The Course Director had presented a suggestion which would remove the Elective Credit altogether and replace it with a Professional Studies course, although notions of replacing it with half a Credit in Professional Studies and half a Credit (Elective) were also retained.

What I am trying to demonstrate here is the way dominant thinking came to be introduced and initially accepted, who the influential groups were and what the influential factors were. Whatever the original proposals, it is evident that there was a swift capitulation to the C.N.A.A. recommendations as early as November 1975. It was rapidly recognised that C.N.A.A. would not contemplate proposals for the Honours year which did not include school-based work. To add to the complexity of the problem, some Main Subject Credits had by this time been validated, thus ensuring that they were an essential part of the Honours degree course. No flexibility then could be sought in this direction.

Yet another constraint on the nature of the PS credit, in the early proposals, arose out of restrictions on the staffing for the course. Striving for economies had already led to the proposals for an individual investigation on the part of students, which would allow for minimal staff/student contact time (document dated 24.11.75). The implications of this were that, this way, less preparation time for and involvement of staff would be required. It was being proposed that tutors in Main Subject Field and Education Studies would contribute to work in Professional Studies. This meant that, if it was a taught course, in certain subject areas groups would be too small to be viable as a teaching unit. For example, on projection at that time, six main subject areas would only have between one and five students

in the fourth year. Thus, the nature of the course came to be concerned with individual investigative work. The significance of this for the course is that attention came to be focused, not upon the content of a taught course, but upon the nature of the proposed investigations in the different areas and the quality of these investigations, for what I would suggest were largely pragmatic considerations. Extra relevant staffing presumably was not going to be available.

In line with this, as already indicated, it was proposed (Document: 24.11.75) that the credit should be open for investigations arising out of main subject work, Professional Studies or the disciplines of the Education Studies area, and that each proposal should come from the appropriate subject board. This, however, raised the problem of equivalence of standards as well as equivalence of time and assessment demands. It was felt that these issues could best be dealt with through a central organisation for moderating work, monitoring standards, co-ordinating arrangements in school, etc. The role of the subject boards would be to consider whether they wished to offer Professional Studies opportunities. They would also have responsibility for topics. A certain bureaucratisation in the form of central organisation was proposed then, in response to the problems of coordination and comparability, but clearly this could lead to the establishment of a power base and its proposal might well meet up with opposition.

Tactics

So far I have attempted to show how influential groups, circumstances and ideas were initially selected and how the latter developed initially particularly in relation to various constraints. By the autumn of 1975, the key issue, that of the establishment of school-based work in the Honours course, had been resolved. Acquiescence had been obtained.

However proposals for school-based work had still not been developed by the colleges sufficiently adequately and thus elicited a not surprising response from C.N.A.A. 'Failure', on the part of the colleges, was approached in the communication from C.N.A.A., in such a way as to suggest that this was because the colleges had not had previous experience of Professional Studies at Honours level. This is, as will be seen later, similar to an important tactic employed in government reports, the 'fraternal critique',[15] whereby criticism is diminished by being attributed to, for example, as here, inexperience. In this way this appears almost a neutral criticism. But this tactic also enables those involved to 'see' that a failure to include Professional Studies is in some way a retrograde step, in as much as it conjures up a picture of the absurdity of a situation in which Honours B.Ed. students had no school based experience in the Honours year, the final year before going out into schools. Once the tutors are made aware of this, they are at once placed in an 'inferior' position but, the implication is that, once they have reflected, they too will 'understand'. Thus they come to be incorporated amongst that body of people who 'know' that this is so.

But clearly the staff group continued to hold a different set of values. For their part staff pointed out (Documents: 16.10.75) in defence of their original planning, that the fourth year contained two compulsory Education Studies Credits and that these were seen as reflective elements when students could develop theoretical ideas partly based on the earlier practical school experience which they had had during the previous three years. Certainly, while some school involvement, (notably ES 209), had not been ruled out, it had been assumed by Education staff that school involvement at this stage would be optional. It seemed that college staff felt that a theoretical emphasis was important at this level, although it was to be related to practical experience in the

earlier years. At least this was the legitimation for their proposals.

Nevertheless in pursuit of the desired objective, school based work, other tactics were also employed, to establish the normality of the notion of Professional Studies in an Honours degree course. Those who led the planning of the Honours submission within the colleges, and desirous of winning the support of other staff, employed various discourses As already discussed, an administrative discourse pointed to the fact that six Main Subject areas had been validated at this point, for the Honours course. Clear logic then suggested, or so it was argued, that this part of the structure must stand. The Main Subject areas now held very firm positions.

Ensuring that the Planning Group for the Honours year was suitably organised, meant that, firstly,influential members must have been brought in and presumably those sympathetic to the proposal. (Little antagonism appears in the records within the Committee and so this can only be assumed.). The Planning Group was proposed by the Course Coordinators Committee. There was to be a course coordinator, the principal coordinator for Professional Studies and Education Studies, the coordinator for Educational Studies, the Chairman of the assessment committee and of the School Experience Committee and three Main Subject coordinators. A democratic approach was clearly going to prove invaluable in the ultimate legitimation of proposals for the Professional Studies Credit. Head teachers were then invited to give their views. At the same time, it was a way of pointing to those persons who were, or came to be, classified as important with regard to the planning and implementation of the Professional Studies course. Clearly, schools would be needed in order for the credit to be implemented. At a conference, to which secondary head teachers and others were asked,

proposals for school based work for the fourth year Honours students were put forward. While they were asked to make suggestions about what they saw as suitable school-based work for the above students, nevertheless their proposals already were subject to a number of limitations. The standing conference for Head teachers was held in May 1976, after certain papers had been circulated with an outline of principles and sequence for the proposed course. The papers showed C.N.A.A. guidelines, and comments of the C.N.A.A. to proposals by the colleges to date, with an outline of the structure of B.Ed. Ordinary and B.Ed. Honours degrees.

Democratic negotiations then ensued, with a difficult initial period of communication and discussion. Arguably, roots of dissatisfaction amongst heads were to be found in the nature of teacher training courses and the alleged inadequacy of many young teachers. However the mood of the meeting changed from one of open hostility to one where the majority were at least prepared to listen and consider the proposals of the colleges, but there remained still a wide spectrum of views about how one continued a student's professional training in the fourth year Honours course. One of the chief principles coming through from the meeting was that there was a concern about the effects of the proposed school-based work on the children, which led the heads to accept only those suggestions which had some identifiable benefits for pupils. Using pupils as subjects for the sole benefit of the student was not seen as acceptable. Certain specific proposals were rejected, such as those from the Curriculum Development Credit (ES 209), which were seen as too difficult from the point of view of time. Proposals, related to social issues were considered inappropriate, no doubt attributable to their potentially critical, sociological implications.

Pressing for a more practical emphasis, heads argued that students should be required to manage a whole class, not a group, on the grounds that school-based work should include skills of classroom management. They were therefore receptive to ideas involving teaching and learning.

It is evident from this that thinking about education at an advanced level evoked quite different reactions from the heads and from the staff of the colleges. Certainly school-based work for the heads meant some aspect of practical teaching and experience for the students. From staff of the colleges, often there was much more of a research orientated view. Problems existed for the staff of the colleges since they were in the position of having to impose certain standards of an academic quality, which they perceived could distinguish this course from Professional Studies work in the Ordinary degree, while legitimating the inclusion of Professional Studies in the Honours year. Both heads and staff had to understand that the fourth year students were already qualified teachers and that there was no question of asessment of their teaching performance as such. But the heads still sought a practical emphasis for these students. These represented very different interest groups with different points of view, but also with varying difficulties to overcome in trying to resolve what was to be the nature of the course. A degree of discord tended to arise because of beliefs in more theoretical concerns, on the one hand, and more practical ones in the latter case. There is no doubt that this initial stage indicates a major shift in the thinking with regard to the Professional Studies credit. It is a stage in which the crucial elements of opposition have been confronted and this meeting, perhaps, represents an important point in the ongoing struggle between the practical , or vocational , and intellectual positions.

The process of standardisation ,it can be argued, serves as an important mechanism for the extension of control. In this respect, the external examiner's role was also influential. It was seen ostensibly as one which was part-examiner, part-consultant. However, it was evident that his authority sprang from his relationship with C.N.A.A., since he was reporting to them on the workability of the scheme of examinations and information concerning the comparability of standards with those of other institutions. Thus, at this stage of bureaucratic development examinations became an issue of importance, along with that of standards. The issue of standards was, in reality, a concern with 'selection'. It can be argued that the process of selection provides a key to understanding the way in which an educational institution controls knowledge.[16] Firstly there was the question of grades for entry to the Honours year, 2 C's and 2 D's minimum from the B.Ed. Ordinary course, 2 A's and 2 B's (possibly 4 B's) from the Certificate course. Important too was the discussion concerned with what scale should be used in marking and what criteria were to be used for this marking. These, it was felt, should be thought out, established and made known to the students. Open entry was seen as devaluing the Honours degree, revealing the assumptions of many of those concerned with regard to 'selection'.

What is significant here is that the focus of discussion, at this relatively early point, has changed from the major issue of what makes up an Honours course to a concern with more detailed 'trivia'. More than this, the more detailed issues have been arranged into what appears to be a 'natural' sequence of importance; criteria for entry, criteria of assessment and so on. In other words, by this point, discussion was at quite another level. It can be claimed that this had emerged by the use of an important tactic, whereby this 'struggle'

had become transformed into a discussion of technical problems i.e. exams, grades. No longer was the focus on what the course should be, or its more specific nature. Attention had been diverted from these problems and come to be contained within a positivist discourse, i.e. concerned with grades/exams, etc. In other words it had come to be concerned with the more limited discourse of measurement procedures.

Common sense perceptions

Having successfully focused attention onto less important questions, the problematic nature of the P.S. Credit was no longer an issue. Negotiations moved forward to more detailed discussion. Often this involved what may be considered common sense thinking with regard to higher education. It led to discussion of what qualities were considered necessary for Honours level work, thus distinguishing it from the Ordinary degree. It can be argued that certain kinds of knowledge and accompanying qualities relate to the dominant culture and are clearly underpinned by the hegemonic ideology. As Johnson argues,

> 'All groups develop their own common senses of the world: but they have radically different relations ... to the 'dominant culture' ... This is partly a matter of access..." [17]

As I have argued, once this stage in discussions was reached, the inclusion of Professional Studies became quite natural and staff tended to raise the traditional concepts of what such a course at this level would involve. So the common sense understanding of academic quality entered into, and formed an important part of, the ensuing discussion. (I am using common sense understanding here to refer to the common sense thinking of educationalists, in particular those involved in Higher Education. I am not referring more generally to the common sense thinking of the man in the street, although of course, this may

well be related indirectly.) It could be argued that those concerned with the planning formed a microcosm of wider society, for it was evident that all individuals and groups, concerned with the preparation of PS 180, did not have identical power. As has been argued, C.N.A.A. had proposed school-based work and would not consider proposals for an Honours year which did not include it. Hence all common sense views in this context were likely to be modified by C.N.A.A.'s terms of reference, on the one hand. On the other, knowledge about academic quality which emanated predominantly from college staff groups, (but incorporating as we have seen some students and teachers), was deliberated, but it did not oppose the fundamental definitions of the Credit which had already been laid down. Many issues that were subsequently raised, however, tended to be based on traditional common sense assumptions concerning academic quality, with the'collision' between the two orientations frequently giving rise to areas of tension.

Important too, were the rejections of the February and June submissions, which contained no proposals for school-based work. C.N.A.A. ensured by sleight of hand, as it were, that alongside the rejections, were notions that the omission of school-based work was somehow absurd. In this climate staff were unable to challenge realistically the status of C.N.A.A.'s proposals for fear of appearing reactionary, amongst other things. A submission which proposed an Honours course, which kept newly qualified teachers out of school for a whole year, was made to appear vaguely ridiculous. Few would wish to be tarnished with this. Indeed, I believe that this suggests a weakening of the traditional elitist perceptions in higher education, observable in the fact that an opposing argument could not be martialled effectively. All this served to remove any serious questioning of, or challenges to, the basic idea that a fourth year Honours Professional Studies Credit

should be established. Any potential opposition was rapidly being undermined at this very early stage.

Nevertheless the traditional hegemony was by no means totally dispersed. Bounded by the limitations of a 3 + 1 course, by the Credit structure of the Ordinary degree and, added to this, the perceived necessity for school-based work, planning was constantly plagued by notions of academic quality which continued to be raised. Thus the academic quality of the school-based work became the narrow focus and different perspectives on what this might be arose and were developed. The underlying dichotomy is a very important issue. It can be argued that traditionally there has been a division between theoretical and practical concerns, a reluctance to allow material concerns to enter the world of thought. There is arguably an assumption that knowledge is something quite independent of political, social or economic concerns. This assumption underpins the traditional British segregation of 'theoretical and practical', of 'abstract and technical' knowledge. The distinction too is to be found between mental and manual labour which, it can be argued, come to be seen as 'superior' and 'inferior'.[18]

Faced with establishing the Professional Studies course, as a 'suitable' Honours year Credit, under the circumstances, led to consideration of theoretical links in this proposed school-based Credit. The 'common sense' educational view, which values 'theory' as against 'practice', then came to serve as a means of legitimating the introduction of school-based work in the Honours course. The latter could no longer be justified on the grounds of 'school experience', as has been demonstrated. Furthermore, the whole proposed structure of the fourth years Honours course might be in jeopardy if the Credit were

to be included on the basis of practical , non-assessed experience in schools, another real alternative. As the proposals stood, the PS Credit must take 25% of the total marks for the Honours year, so it was intended that this should be an assessed Credit. In any case there is always doubt about the commitment of busy students towards a non-assessed course. Thus, to give credibility to the course there needed to be allotted a suitable proportion of the grades, and therefore criteria for this assessment needed to be defined. So a theoretical focus was decided upon.

Inherent conflicts: Theory-practice issue

There is little doubt that this 'theory-practice' dichotomy was a fundamental issue with regard to subsequent developments. Tutors stressed that while a number of them believed in the importance of the 'discipline' approach in Educational Studies, nevertheless a number were concerned that there should also be some form of practical experience in schools in the Honours year course. It was even argued that, in reality, the emphasis on the disciplines of sociology, psychology, philosophy and history in Educational Studies and the need for some form of practice, as aspects of theory and practice , set up an artificial dichotomy. As I have suggested, the effort to establish academic rigour amongst Teacher Training institutions had manifested itself in the former university validated degree and had in some instances, it was felt, served to make both students and tutors 'lose sight of the school'. Planning so far then, no doubt provided the catalyst to set ideas into motion that both aspects should be drawn together. Clearly, subsequently, these attempts to link theory and practice were found to be not so straightforward as might have been expected, for the traditional organisation tended to be

stronger than the innovatory ideas proved to be. The division thus tended to remain firm, but was continually immersed in struggle.

This division manifested itself in alleged characteristics of tutors. It was reinforced by the feeling that those tutors, concerned with 'practice', did not always have a very theoretical background, while those who were 'theory' oriented tended to be cut off from 'practice'. Thus the division of labour was accentuated and reinforced. Certainly more common sense views within education have traditionally held this division to be important and to represent, or at least be related to, different intellectual and status levels. It was most certainly retained within this organisation and served in many ways to 'prejudice' unconsciously subsequent developments.

There is no doubt that this struggle concerning the nature of the Professional Studies Honours degree Credit, and to some extent of the Honours year altogether, in many ways was part of a wider struggle. It can be argued that the positions taken by the C.N.A.A., and the different groups of tutors, suggest that very different values are held concerning the nature of higher education. These values, it can be argued, have their roots in very different social, economic and political contexts. Embedded within the perceptions of those tutors who believed for example, that a 'research' element was of greater importance than classroom practice, that theoretical bases were essential to give the investigations greater academic integrity, were notions related to the more traditional elitist beliefs concerning higher education. It is notable that the Honours year Professional Studies Credit had to establish itself at a different 'level'. This had to be done, not simply to provide criteria for assessment, but also to distinguish it from the Professional Studies in the three year

Ordinary degree. Those who had been selected, guided or advised into pursuing, or who had chosen to pursue, the Honours course, may be seen as part of the socio-cultural elite, even more 'selected' than those following the Ordinary course. Within the institution, and even wider society, they could be seen as members of an elitist group. Tapper and Salter argue that such a culture provides "... the elite both with the identity and the means for cultural dominance."[19] The 'university ideal' makes "... a substantial and very practical contribution to the presentation of elite power".[20] They argue that these academic values are'couched in educational and cultural terms', a fact which serves to legitimate them. It is probably true that these academic values reflect the traditional,dominant ideology in higher education, which, increasingly in the seventies, arguably, came to be seriously challenged by newer vocational ideals.

On the other hand, the belief in education as an economic resource, it may be suggested, underpins the challenging ideology. It is rooted in the belief that Britain has to make her way in a highly competitive world. To ensure that this will happen, it is perceived that there is a need to develop technical or vocational education, up into the tertiary sector. Social and economic notions then become predominant, in any such ideology:

> "The search for knowledge and its maintenance for example, can no longer be accorded an absolute status but must be measured by the yardstick of social relevance."[21]

It can be argued that teacher education in the colleges has inevitably fallen between these two ideas, concerned as it is with vocational training on the one hand and its need to emphasise intellectual quality, on the other.

The innovation of this Professional Studies Credit in a fourth year Honours course, devised as it was with students who were already qualified teachers, suggests a move towards a more 'vocational' emphasis in teacher education. I shall pursue this notion further later on, but for the moment I want to turn to an examination of the mechanisms and tactics involved in the struggle for the control of ideas.

Struggle for the control of ideas : mechanisms and tactics

An important strategy in the struggle for the control of ideas is the process of legitimation. To legitimate the inclusion of a Professional Studies course in the fourth year, especially one which specifically involved school-based work, it was suggested by some that the Credit should take the form of 'research'. This was seen as a major forceful alternative by certain members of staff but, as has been seen, was clearly unacceptable to headteachers. While I have suggested that 'research' perhaps belongs to the realms of 'academicism' or 'theory', nevertheless in the nineteenth century 'research' orientated elements of higher education curricula were seen as 'technical', stemming as they did from science and scientific discovery.[22] In this respect it had lower status than more traditional subjects. Over the years, however, it can be argued that 'research' has since become accepted as an approved part of the elite culture.[23] What I am arguing is that the Professional Studies course is here seeking its legitimation in the form of 'research', a concept associated with an 'elitist' form of education, despite its early beginnings within a more 'practical' or 'technological' context, but now an 'approved' category indicating academic quality in higher education. As already suggested however, 'research' presented an alternative which was unacceptable. It had therefore to be

'de-legitimated'. Thus the notion of research was approached in such a way as to discredit it from its earliest conception.

As early as 1975 then, research was already being seen as less than appropriate . Added to this, it is unlikely that research was the kind of activity that C.N.A.A. had in mind when recommending school-based work. Various mechanisms then were employed to discredit it. The 'acceptable' discourse at the Conference (1975) had been 'child-orientated' and 'progressive': school-based work had to 'benefit the children'. The focus of discussion, thus, had come to be upon the kind of work which benefitted both pupils and students. The progressive underpinning, in the hands of the powerful group of head teachers, had succeeded in outlawing any other arguments and proposals. Children, it had been asserted, were in school as part of their normal lives and therefore the student must be involved with teaching which was 'for the pupil's benefit'. "We cannot have intelligence testing!" had been one of the comments. So while the student was in the school to 'develop his main concern', i.e. his particular enquiry related either to his main subject, his Education Studies or Professional Studies work, it was proposed that it was from this kind of experience (i.e. one benefitting the pupils) that students were likely to benefit too. Examined carefully though, the logic is not too clear here. Certainly, the headteachers' position had also been a defensive one,resisting pressures for their schools to be turned into 'theatres' of research based activity.

There had been a number of other proposals put forward which were not likely to be 'for the pupils benefit' and,within this progressive orientation, it is evident that these were seen as quite naturally bad. Therefore such proposals had not been raised for serious discussion or as

serious alternatives. But, as we shall see, this phenomenon raises its head again at later points. For the moment at any rate the dangerous alternative, i.e. increased intellectual emphasis, the 'Other'[24] had been dispatched.

Clearly too, there was tension and struggle between Honours course groups i.e. main subject, Education Studies, and Professional Studies. Many tutors saw that links with Professional Studies might remove work from their areas and therefore the links were not infrequently opposed. In addition, it was at first thought inappropriate for those from one area to comment on those from another, so comments were at first guarded. However, these fears gradually lessened as tutors 'came to understand', or so it was intimated, that areas had much in common in different situations and that their work would not in effect be taken away. Careful and diplomatic discussion defused a potentially threatening situation. Vested interests were dealt with by illustrating that job losses would not occur. Then what may be termed a progressive discourse was employed suggesting that it was forward-looking to integrate with other departments and to become involved with other applied ploys.

Thus we can see, in these particular instances, how the field of legitimate discussion was beginning to be defined, how limits were being set on how the PS Credit could be thought about. The terms of criticism are to be found in certain 'disenchanted stereotypes':- 'research', 'intelligence testing', etc. [a] What better way than to refer to this latter discredited psychological technique, which was so important in the equally discredited educational thinking of the fifties! The techniques around which were developed the ideas and assumptions of that decade, and the subsequently much disparaged tri-partite system, served

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a) Source: interview with tutor: AM.

to discredit any notions of research. These were intimations of an unpopular and deterministic view of children's potential, whereby children are seen to develop, but only as far as their innate potential will allow. The 'correct' tone created was aided by stereotyped educational phrases, as we have seen, within a progressive discourse; 'for the benefit of the children', 'the benefit of the student'.

Particularly threatening then for the group of tutors, who had become committed to promoting the PS Credit, were the two major areas of Education Studies and the Main Subject. This was exacerbated by a situation in which three colleges were coming together. However, as I have suggested, discussion gradually established links with these areas and every effort was made to mitigate criticism. Once tutors had allegedly become sufficiently acquainted with the ideas of the PS Credit, the initial conflict became subdued and co-ordination between the areas appeared to develop quite naturally. This semblance of 'natural' development is indeed a devastating technique for reducing opposition.

Constraints over implementation

There were further constraints to be found emanating from the practical considerations of implementing a course which was to cut across subject boundaries. These problems were reinforced by the fact that the three colleges, in the first two years of the course, would exist as separate institutions although the Professional Studies Credit was at the time of the planning already being co-ordinated between the three. One of the chief difficulties with regard to the implementation of the course, would be the gathering together of the tutors concerned, in order to talk with them about the 'philosophy' of the course, the standards to be achieved etc. Few tutors were going to be designated to the

Professional Studies area and their wide dispersement meant that the course in the early stages of implementation, in many respects, would be less efficient than it might otherwise have been. The general understanding and ideas related to the course would be difficult to disseminate and for students, at the end of these lines of communication, the situation would be both frustrating and alarming. As for the tutors, while there would be a closely knit group of staff at College M, in some colleges the tutorial help would have to be 'farmed out'. These tutors would not be part of the Professional Studies group, and could not be, because the quality of their academic background did not meet C.N.A.A. requirements. These requirements included, not simply academic qualifications, but also a tutor's involvement in particular curriculum research activities. So clearly here all tutors would not have the perceived necessary expertise.

Such expertise would immediately have given those tutors status, as there would be implications of particular intellectual quality, residual elements of the traditional elitist ideology. Without this quality, there was a general belief that such tutors could be confused, that they were not of adequate or satisfactory academic quality. Beyond this it was necessary to make clear to all tutors concerned that, while students were involved in a practical activity, tutors needed to recognise that there were theoretical issues on which the course was fundamentally based. The theory-practice dichotomy, underpinning thinking at this stage, remained a crucial issue. This was especially important since not all tutors, it was argued, perceived that theoretical issues were involved. Curriculum issues were sometimes seen as 'jargon' which was 'a worry'! [a] Thus, it became increasingly clear that the course was to be based on a firm theoretical foundation. It was this theoretical base which,

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Source: Interview with tutor: AM.

as has already been pointed out, was to give the course status and credibility. Therefore the theoretical base became a crucial element in the Professional Studies Credit's implementation, with important implications for the staff concerned.

Constraints on the Honours course

The general assumptions concerning the importance of linking theory with 'practice , to be found in the proposals relating to the objectives of the PS Credit, are not always held to be valid. For Hirst, 'Educational theory is professionally irrelevant if it in no way enters into the making of practical judgements'.[25] He argues that it is commonly assumed that foundation studies of education theory, i.e. the disciplines, provide what is necessary, but that it is patently obvious that these disciplines do not, at least at present, match up to these demands.[26]

Now it becomes clear, as Hirst suggests, that the underlying philosophy of PS 180 contains aspirations about a Professional Studies course which may well in practice not operate as intended. In creating Honours level activity, the college tutors felt that they ought to be able to identify skills of teachers which might be classified as 'Honours type activity'. Value, it was felt, was to be gained by teachers developing skills, reflecting on their activities of planning and recording . these reflections. Thus the major theme of evaluation was selected, at least partially, for these reasons, because not much time had been devoted to this during the three year course, and because it could be done via individual research . In this way such students might be marked off as Honours graduates . There is little doubt also that the then current common sense view in education

had accepted a new orthodoxy. After an initial popularity , the area of Curriculum Studies had given way to evaluation. There is little doubt too that evaluation can also be seen as an aspect of the accountability movement, so apparent at the end of the seventies which, in many ways, may explain its credibility at this point in the seventies.

Boundaries were also being drawn in relation to notions concerning the theory/practice dichotomy, which is important also with regard to the Educational Studies/Professional Studies relationship. In the minds of a number of tutors, Education Studies and Professional Studies were complementary to each other although the institutionalised division was not seen as ideal. For these tutors, Educational Studies provided the theoretical background, against which Professional Studies, the practical component, could be implemented. The implications of this were that the students, having selected their topics for investigation, would put them into effect in the classroom and then would be in a position to reflect upon and evaluate them. Perhaps, partly because of this perception, as well as the fact that Educational Studies had traditionally held an important position within the previous B.Ed. degree, Education Studies found itself in an entrenched position, as well as main subject work. What is important about this is that there appeared to be little radical reflection on the nature of the fourth year Honours degree course, on the question of whether Education Studies or certainly the proportion of the course which they held, for example, were an appropriate part of it. Hirst would probably feel it was not.[27] This clearly left only the fourth 'elective part' of the course open to manipulation. This and the fact that Professional Studies was 'new' as an Honours subject, and therefore vulnerable, meant that a clear solution presented itself. Professional Studies was shifted into the elective slot.

As far as C.N.A.A. were concerned, the overall proposals for Honours courses in Education Studies and most Main Subject areas had been accepted fairly quickly. The fact that these two areas had, to some extent, carried over from the former B.Ed. Honours degree, and, more especially, that they were areas which had traditionally satisfied academic criteria may have contributed to the fact that it was the 'new' area of Professional Studies which 'came under fire'. The effect of this was that the emphasis came to be upon a 'discussion' of Professional Studies, not on an analysis of the course as a whole, or a fundamental questioning of it. By examining constraints emanating from areas of differential power it is possible to perceive the ways in which attention was successfully diverted into 'acceptable' channels. There was consequently, in relation to the Professional Studies course, a rapidly narrowing focus upon how the PS Credit could be perceived and implemented within the constraints already elaborated. The parameters were then drawn around the way forward and, more specifically, around the way the Professional Studies Credit was to be.

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21 TAPPER, T. & SALTER, B. (1978) Op cit. p. 150.

22 WILLIAMS, R. (1961) "The long revolution" Columbia University Press, p. 142.

23 TAPPER, T. & SALTER, B. (1978) Op cit. p. 147.

24 BURTON, F. & CARLEN, P. (1979) Op cit. pp. 32-3.

25 HIRST, P.H. (1979) 'Professional Studies in initial teacher education: Some Conceptual Issues' in R. ALEXANDER and E. WORMALD (eds.), 'Professional Studies for Teaching' Teacher Education Study Group, p. 18.

26 HIRST, P.H. (1979) Op cit. pp. 18-19.

27 HIRST, P.H. (1979) Op cit. p. 19.

Chapter 3. STAGE II LATER STAGES OF PLANNING AND EARLY STAGES OF IMPLEMENTATION

Once the balance of the Professional Studies course had been 'correctly' established, with a firm commitment to work in schools, but heightened by serious theoretical background work, the course was presented to, and validated by C.N.A.A. Quality of teaching staff was an important factor also as we have seen. By September 1978, the finalised course was ready to be implemented.

One criterion, which was considered important with regard to the Professional Studies course, was that it had to be devised in such a way as not to make too much demand on the students' time. This was perceived in relation to the time which, it was felt, could otherwise be 'more profitably' spent on theoretical activity. Traditional assumptions, relating to what is considered 'essential' Honours work, are quite apparent here.

Philosophy of PS course

Examining the 'philosophy' of the course provides a means of identifying and examining the underlying 'theoretical ideology' of the P.S. Credit. The 'philosophy' of the course was seen to be the development of the student's skills of reflection upon his or her own activities and of planning and recording these reflections. To legitimate this 'philosophy' various discourses were employed. As already pointed out there was the need for those 'entering the profession' to remain in touch with the school up to the point at which they enter the teaching profession'(Interview: A.M. Course Coordinator). This was the discourse of 'practice' as we have already seen. Then there was the discourse

concerned with intellectual status, for the activity of PS 180 was meant to ensure that Honours students, having benefitted from this practical/ reflective course, could be 'marked off from the others' (A.M. Course Coordinator). The status of PS 180, in relation to the other Honours year courses then became clarified, for it seemed that students' time in the fourth year Honours course should be 'devoted primarily to intensive reading', which appeared to apply to the other three Credits. Students could not be asked to take time from their theoretical activity. Whether this was envisaged originally or whether this view evolved subsequent to student problems it is difficult to tell. Certainly, in a signed petition thirty-five students later complained that they spent too much time on PS 180. Students felt that they were having to cope in the classroom, at the same time as being tested in their practical activity, and then having to write about it as well as devising a means of record keeping which was appropriate. This seems to suggest that there was a discrepancy between the philosophy' and the implementation of the Credit. At least there seems to have been uncertainty and lack of clarity in the objectives, indicated and applied. All of this, it was felt, incurred anxiety among students.

Assumptions then were being made, by tutors at least, about the practical - intellectual dichotomy. I would argue that these reflected deeply held beliefs concerning the nature of higher education. Traditional hegemonic notions, emphasising intellectual quality, permeated the attitudes and activities of those concerned with the Credit. For the tutors the intellectual quality served as a legitimating factor in that it produced the required academic

status. For the students the division between theory and practice, an inherent quality of the course, gave rise to numerous difficulties, especially with regard to time.

The delicate balance between theory and practice, to be found in the philosophy of the Credit, was a difficult notion to transmit. At meetings, and on information sheets, it was easy enough to give out factual information. To communicate ideas or to modify them was a much more difficult task.[a] These difficulties were emphasised by a number of expediency factors. Firstly the course was planned one year, while a number of tutors had been allocated subsequently after the planning. Secondly new people were quite often drawn in to assist with the course and each time that meetings were held, the 'new' people raised issues which involved explaining the 'old ground' once again. It was thus difficult very often to make constructive progress. It was evident that Subject Board meetings had been quite tense at times, with regard to a number of issues.

Intellectual quality was constantly being emphasised, as a means of presenting the PS Credit's credentials. Final Teaching Practice could never get beneath the surface, it was argued, but the planning for a limited teaching assignment, such as was to be found in the Professional Studies course, was a different matter. Students were involved, not with education essays, but in terms of assumptions they were making about

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a) Source: Interview with tutor: AM.

the knowledge upon which they were drawing (A.M. Course Coordinator). The tone implied the perceived limitations in a traditional form of instruction, the essay. The discourse employed was clearly progressive at this point, leading however into a legitimation of an 'intellectual quality, reflection'. Paradoxically, progressive notions, I would argue, tend normally to be 'anti-intellectual' in their stance. The students, it was felt, had to justify what they were doing in terms of this knowledge'. Of course all this rested on the assumption that teaching could be enhanced by reflection which clearly one would like to believe. There was a belief that this evaluation activity 'sharpened' the students' identification of concepts which they were using, that it improved their powers of observation, and their ability to reflect upon the validity of what they were doing.

Practical and progressive discourses were employed to support the decision about the way the Credit was to be implemented. Lectures, it was felt, might involve the students in a whole lot of time that was inappropriate. Clearly too an implicit but salient argument rested on the fact that staffing was not going to be adequate for a taught course. It was argued that, should the Professional Studies course become lecture-oriented, it would be more likely to duplicate what in fact was the more 'theoretical' course of Education Studies, ES 209.This dealt with the broader issues of curriculum theory and of evaluation especially. As for preparing seminars, students were unlikely to want to spend time working for these, unless they were part of the assessment process. As is so often the case, what is not measurable in education is assumed to be of no value.

Early conflicts

Once again the issues concerned with the nature and quality of the course were apparent. Emphasis fell once more upon the practical aspect of the series of lessons which the students were involved with at school. Again there arose this question of the need for intellectually appropriate activity in order to legitimate it as an Honours level work. Since, as has been seen, it could not be pure research where pupils or others might be mere subjects for appraisal by the students; and since school-based work had to be of 'benefit to the pupils' and to the student, some other legitimating factor had to be arrived at. To draw these elements together, some form of curriculum study was seen as the best way of providing an acceptable intellectual focus, presumably because its potential for such development rested on the surge of interest in curriculum studies within educational circles, which reached its peak in the late sixties (Interview: T.B.). Maclure argues that "Curriculum development has risen and fallen as the vogue of the sixties came and went".[1] This is not to say that there was no continued interest in the curriculum, for in the early seventies there were a number of different lines of interest in curriculum such as that to be found in the work of M. Young, B. Bernstein, P. Bourdieu, etc.[2] With a view to intellectualising the Credit, the series of lessons in the school, which the Honours student had to take, involved him in evaluation in relation to some form of curriculum activity. This was seen, in general terms, as making the student 'a better teacher'.

This dilemma reveals itself again later, upon implementation. For the students, concern with the Credit was not only expressed over

issues of lack of clarity and co-ordination but, as we have seen, also in relation to the time which had to be spent, (over-spent it was felt in many cases), on the Professional Studies Credit in relation to the other Credits. It is evident that those students who did not experience the Credit happily, clearly felt that the time given to carrying out the project was being done, perhaps at the expense of more important subject areas, e.g. their main subject work. Once again traditional assumptions about intellectual quality hold good.

The importance of this is that the problem was then capable of resolution in a rational world . Thus it became natural for the difficulties to be expressed in concern over 'time' allotted to PS 180. Common sense reactions involved various ways of coping with the problem at both individual and group levels, so that the problem could be negated. Faults of the Credit could be explained away and attributed 'quite understandably'to the fact that this was a new Credit and this was a first year run-through - a point echoed in one or two of the students' replies in the questionnaires. One student (1979:Textiles)argued that a quarter of the total time would have been enough to spend on the PS Credit, but in fact it took far longer. Vast quantities of material were required, especially for the implementation aspect of the assignment. "Time for carrying out the study was inadequate" said one student, while another (1979:Geography) argued that it was not a viable or practical study to be carried out in the time allowed. It was felt to be impossible to get into enough detail without devoting vast amounts of time. Certainly a disproportionate amount of time appeared to have been spent compared with the other Credits. Hostility towards the Professional Studies Credit, especially with regard to the 'time factor, gave rise to these and similar comments, but there is no doubt that this 'problem' masked a number of other deeper-seated anxieties, one almost certainly related to the theory/practice dimension.

Selection of ideas and early conflicts. Still at the planning stage, however, certain of the earlier constraints still assumed overall importance. There was firstly the problem of placing inexperienced, but already qualified, teachers in schools (Interview: T.B.). This meant, as has been seen, carrying out an investigation, rather than students being involved in plain teaching. While the students

were to teach a series of lessons, activity had to be intellectually appropriate in order to legitimate it as Honours level quality, while providing a basis for assessment at the same time. This could not be done by means of pure research, since Heads had registered their disapproval of such activity in their schools and no doubt C.N.A.A. did not anticipate school based work in such a form. This way it would scarcely have met their requirements. Heads had argued that the activity had to be 'for the benefit of the pupils' and, as we have seen, by dubious logic, of 'benefit to the students' too.

At this stage, one of the major difficulties revolved around the notion of control.The one focus of study which had presented itself as potentially worthwhile was the area of curriculum studies (Interview: T.B.). The original group of tutors who had been concerned with the initial stages of the Professional Studies course, were tutors who had been personally involved with curriculum work. All were therefore aware of relevant design and evaluation techniques. Difficulties however arose once other colleagues were brought into negotiations about PS 180, colleagues who had done little work in this area. These difficulties were further exacerbated by the fact that three different colleges were involved in negotiations too. All this resulted in an uneasy situation, for many of their colleagues were 'learning' rather than 'feeding into' the Professional Studies Credit, clearly needing to become aware of what they were supposed to do. A process of 'induction then took place. At various meetings, the principles of contemporary curriculum work and evaluation processes were made known. The discourse employed by the key tutors was both academic and perhaps 'progressive', in the sense that there was an implication that such tutors were somehow reactionary: many tutors did not'realise what was required'.[a]

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a) Interview: A.M.

Allegedly, such tutors had not yet fully appreciated the development of ideas with regard to curriculum as a basis for professional studies. It was then implied that it was up to the key tutors to acquaint them with the appropriate and relevant material, techniques etc. In this way limits were imposed on the way participating staff came to think about the PS Credit. Other discourses were also employed to do this. First there was the democratic discourse, used by the three key tutors who acted as a core group and who had been involved in planning the content.At meetings explanations were made with regard to what they were trying to do in relation to PS 180. Each time that the other tutors came to meetings they raised a number of questions, often concerned with basic issues so that it was difficult, it was felt, to make progress. Additionally, it is not unlikely that a number of problems were made worse by the situation of unequal power, which arose because the innovation stemmed very largely from only one of the three colleges, which had merged. The ideas appear to have arisen very largely in this one college. This unevenness was reinforced by the fact that meetings took place also at that college. The question of status and power within the internal organisation was clearly an important aspect of these negotiations, creating tensions, anxiety and uncertainty. Certainly, many tutors are likely to have felt themselves in a threatening situation.

Secondly the discourse related to the dichotomy, academic-skill-based work, was raised in defence of the dominant perspective, at this point. It was raised against criticisms by main subject tutors who queried whether Professional Studies was necessary at all, and who felt that they could cope incidentally with practical classroom activity within their own subject work (Interview: T.B.).

One powerful argument in support of the proposed curriculum design and evaluation, was that themes developed in a skill based area were invaluable to future teachers. Many main subject tutors argued however that what was needed was more maths.,science, etc. in other words,more experience with main subject work. Clearly there was still a lot of work for the core tutors to do in order to propagate their ideas effectively.

However, by the later planning stages, there had been some adaptation by individuals and groups to the dominant way of thinking with regards to the PS Credit. One strength for the core group arose organisationally from the fact that many Education Studies and Professional Studies tutors had already worked together in other courses.There was felt to be "more understanding there". Thus it was with regard to main subject areas, where most of the problems appeared to occur initially. This situation provided the core group with an opportunity for gaining support. The intimated alliance or closeness of Education Studies and Professional Studies tutors served to some extent to exclude main subject tutors, as if to suggest that this latter group were not so forward-looking, that they did not embrace this proposed radical view of Professional Studies. Yet as we have already seen, the influences affecting the planning for PS 180 had often been far from progressive or ideal in educational terms. They did not have their origins in such clear educational thinking, but were pressed on all sides by practical, expedient and other measures. The implication however was that, in due course, all would come to understand the value of such a course.

The subject area phenomenon was compounded by the three college situation.

Certain subject areas were clearly more troublesome than others. These unnamed areas clearly appeared to be centred on at least one of the other colleges, perhaps both, but not on the one where the basic idea for Professional Studies had originated. A particular problem area then arose around the main subjects of Physical Education at P. and Home Economics at G. The fact that these latter subject areas were differentiated geographically, as well as training their students for predominantly secondary as opposed to primary work , added to the difficulties. There is little doubt that the unevenness between these groups,with two being less close than the third to the power-base of the PS Credit, contributed significantly to dissatisfaction and general unease. Despite these problems the Professional Studies team came to be made up finally of people with strong affiliations to main subject work partly out of economic necessity with regard to staffing. Furthermore if a student had a main subject of, for example, Religious Studies, then he would have both a Professional Studies and Religious Studies tutor. These tutors met each other at PS 180 Subject Board meetings which were 'well attended on the whole'. So clearly by a somewhat later point pressures and the various mechanisms of control were working effectively with regard to Professional Studies-main subject co-ordination.

As has been suggested, all kinds of tactics were employed in the efforts to establish control. The core group had encountered problems in the main subject areas and in at least two major subject departments oppositional trends had made themselves felt. It was alleged that some tutors had claimed to be 'quite happy to conduct their own credit' independently. The core group , concerned to promote the dominant ideas, argued that the reason these tutors were not committed to their proposals was that 'they had not come to meetings', but then complained

that they had missed developments. There was no question, as might have been implied, of their not being invited to negotiations. This important tactic placed such tutors at a disadvantage. They did not conform to the dominant views, it was intimated, because they were unreasonable. Their position was oppositional but irrationally so. What is apparent is that the climate between the three colleges was one of tension.

Yet others perceived the proposals somewhat differently. For example, the college G predominantly concerned with Home Economics argued that they had seen the idea of a Professional Studies Credit as exciting. (Interview: G; M.E. and D.H.). It was felt to be innovatory and it was approached by tutors there with enthusiasm. The tutor designated as tutor in charge at G said "We were in tune with the whole concept although we were not very sure how we were going to follow it up, for instance how far it was going to be research". One of the sources of difficulty was, as this tutor pointed out, that "everyone had a different idea of the Credit" at the beginning. "It has taken a year to jell". Early problems of control must have centred around this issue. One of the tactics employed to establish a degree of control over these various ideas was, one suspects, by de-valuing the status of tutors at this college, a de-valuation more easily obtained because it concerned tutors from what might be claimed a low status subject area. In this way their ideas carried less weight than those emanating from other sources. Clearly this 'jelling' was achieved in a number of other subtle ways as well. Problems arose at G also, since tutors involved with the Honours PS Credit were on the whole lacking the required second educational qualification (Interview: G; D.H.). Of course this was disadvantageous in practice for the

core group too, since the under-qualification of staff meant that certain staff who would otherwise 'have been useful' were excluded from involvement. This meant that the power base for introducing and promoting ideas was not strong in this college.

However there is little doubt that attitudes of tutors were beginning to change since, in this period of negotiations, progressive stereotypes came to be employed more frequently. Tutors, no doubt those who were being successfully 'nudged' into taking on the dominant perceptions, were seen as flexible. By intimation, this is the antithesis of reactionary and outmoded, which terms have a suggestion that such individuals are just not 'au fait' with current educational ideas. It was argued that tutors had 'come together' and 'done a lot of good work'. The success which had been achieved was further reinforced by the fact that these same tutors 'had not previously worked together', which in fact tends to indicate that, despite these differences, the overall notions which were being put forward about the Professional Studies Credit were sufficiently strong to override subject area considerations. Of course there may well have been a discrepancy between such thoughts and the practice. However, it was significant that some of the original 'opposing' suggestions no longer appeared and there was correspondingly a gathering momentum, related to the core group's ideas about Professional Studies. More specifically main subject tutors no longer appeared to be querying whether Professional Studies was necessary, or saying that what students needed in an Honours course was more main subject work, with school based work dealt with by them on a more incidental basis.

So, it is possible to see that parameters were being drawn up and

alternative proposals were gradually being dissipated. Even by March 1976 the focus had fallen upon planning the more exact nature of the course. On the one hand, there was concern with the practical implications of this work in schools and, on the other, a concern with the academic quality of the course. Conflicting versions of what this Credit might entail tended at this stage to come under discussion. It can be said that alternatives for the Professional Studies Credit, and certainly the issue of whether there should be a Professional Studies Credit at all, had been almost totally suppressed at this point (even supposing they had actually existed earlier in any realistic sense). And this suppression occurred successfully despite the fact that school-based work in the fourth year B.Ed. Honours degree course presented immense problems! This clearly indicated the differential power of certain groups, i.e. C.N.A.A. and the core group of tutors and the particular ideas which they propagated. The pressures had now fallen upon getting such a course off the ground . The course co-ordinator, the co-ordinators of Professional Studies and Education Studies and other influential people within the colleges were committed to this task and appeared at this stage to be putting pressure on others to find ways around these problems. By the time of my interviews in 1979-80 attitudes had become more firmly held, particularly in relation to the desirability of work in schools, as part of an Honours course. This was never questioned at this stage at all. In 1976 however this process as revealed in the documents and interviews was still gradually being undertaken.

Constraints

More detailed, and less wide-ranging, issues then predominated and

a number of other constraints presented themselves. First there were practical constraints to be considered. There was concern over numbers for instance. The historical development of the course in relation to the B.Ed. Ordinary degree course meant that, if contact was to be made with the schools prior to the Honours year in preparation for the course, this would need to be done in the final term of the Ordinary degree course. This however was not entirely suitable organisationally on the one hand. On the other in times of employment problems, those staying on for the Honours course might turn out to be, (with some selection and advice of course), those who had failed to obtain a job, while certain more able students by contrast might well leave. This way the 'more able' might not be channelled into the Honours course and, at the same time, a degree of uncertainty would hang over numbers of students who would be undertaking the Honours year.

Official guidelines in any case suggested that 40% might transfer to the Honours course, which could leave the colleges with as few as 80 students. The James Report (1972) had indicated that an Honours B.Ed. fourth year course was not a possibility for all teacher trainees because of cost.[3] This B.Ed. Honours course was provisionally based on similar assumptions with subsequent problems over course planning and student numbers. This clearly had impact on the Professional Studies Credit which had to make early contact and arrangements with the schools and students, yet knowing the degree of uncertainty lying behind any such arrangements. By this stage then these serious problems of a practical nature, were seen as the ones to be surmounted. They did not include the fundamental problem of whether to implement school based work in the fourth year Honours course, or whether it was desirable or not, as I have already stressed. The issues around which subsequent

meetings were arranged were presented within these interpretative parameters.

The theory-practice issue became, at this point, once again, a very important factor. By early 1977 (Document 17.3.77), other constraints had also begun to make themselves felt. It was argued that there was a need to clarify the relationship between the Professional Studies area specifically and the Education Studies area, in particular (E.S. 209), since there was felt to be some doubt about the distinction between the two. The Professional Studies Credit, it was argued, was designed to provide a specific practical exercise, the theoretical knowledge and analytical skills being developed in ES 209. It was suggested that the two credits were complementary and different in emphasis. Earlier (Documents 28.2.77), it had been pointed out that the emphasis of the Professional Studies Credit was upon specific professional activities and contexts, while the appropriate Education Studies area, ES 209, was upon developing students' insights into practice through exposure to an adequate 'language' of practice. It was felt that this language had been developed to some extent earlier in the B.Ed. Ordinary degree, through inter-disciplinary enquiry into practical issues, as found in the first compulsory Education Studies Credit ES 200. This, it was envisaged, was to develop further at Honours level.

In relation to Honours level work this division between theory and practice was elaborated and reinforced in subsequent discussion. The Professional Studies Credit, it was felt, dealt with specifics which were directly applicable to a concrete situation or problem.

The Education Studies Honours Credit on the other hand related to the aims and content stated in the Professional Studies Honours Credit so that theoretical knowledge and critical skills could be articulated in the context of Professional Studies. Both Credits were to centre on curriculum study. In the Education Studies Honours Credit, the student, it was argued, would deepen his understanding by considering the nature of evaluation , its uses and limitations. In PS 180 the student would be required to use the conceptual tool in his particular curriculum planning exercise, choosing form(s) of evaluation as appropriate, and reporting the results.

The power of the C.N.A.A. to reshape the PS Credit can be observed in subsequent negotiations. Amongst the comments by C.N.A.A.(Documents:May 1977)was one which noted the absence, in the Colleges' proposal, of a clearly articulated rationale. C.N.A.A. pointed out that they felt that the colleges should have debated and identified the intellectual characteristics of Honours level work. It was argued that this would have facilitated the identification of criteria against which the individual components could have been assessed. These and other factors pointed to certain issues for the next step forward. Firstly all main subject co-ordinators were asked to spell out their concept of Honours work. Secondly there was seen to be a need to identify standards which might be required in an Honours level course. Thirdly the notion of development from the third year course (as C.N.A.A. had earlier suggested), was to be considered. More specifically there was a need to identify the skills which the students brought from their experience in the three year course.

What is at issue at this point is that practical work in the school had to be justified in terms of educationalists' common sense or

expert views of intellectual requirements for an Honours course. All this reinforced the practical-academic separation and notions of inferiority-superiority which are commonly attached to this separation. Practical application without this intellectual underpinning evidently was seen to be inadequate, or at least inappropriate, by the staff of the colleges and in the eyes of C.N.A.A. Of course, as already suggested, were it possible to have included school experience as an assessed unit of professional qualification, i.e. of teacher qualification, this we must assume would have been perfectly adequate. Having dispensed with the assessment element of teacher professionalisation in the third year it was no longer an option.

In a society where measurement and empirical and scientific data are the ones to give credibility it is evident that continued, non-assessed professional experience would not rate very highly. Hence legitimation was sought through a 'measurable' activity, for assessed work was credible to C.N.A.A., tutors and students alike. It can be argued that this reinforces notions, and the desirability, of 'acquisition' and 'materiality' in contemporary society. This implies that what cannot be measured is not worth considering, that all aspects of life are amenable to measurement. Margaret Weldhen makes a similar point in her article on evaluation in higher education[4]. Additionally, in relation to the proposed content of PS 180, it was already being intimated that some form of scientific rationality was the sole basis for critical thinking, since work would have to involve evaluative procedures rooted in some form of scientific enquiry (Documents: 1977). However what is important to this argument is that, at this stage, the resolution of school based work in the fourth year Honours course had to suppress the possibility that school based work was viable and

worthwhile in its own right. Such notions would have been virtually impossible to introduce or sustain in any quarter, given the overriding values widely held in contemporary society.

The ideologies underpinning such perceptions are especially important with regard to teachers, since the values which are being placed on the Professional Studies Credit, penetrate the content and processes of that course, thus with the potential to initiate students (albeit implicitly), into a particular generalised form of social consciousness.[5] The values are conveyed both in the content and in the routines and practices which are considered appropriate to that course from the point of view of the teaching/learning context. It can be argued that the theoretical (course content) and practical ideologies (routines and practices of the course) inculcate attitudes of acceptance of social hierarchy, characteristic of the world beyond school, hierarchy implied by the values to be found in PS 180 .

> "Practical ideology serves to inculcate submissive attitudes to authority, acceptance of social hierarchies and the stratification system through the classification and grading system, and a cognitive view of the way the social world 'works', all of which function to legitimate the relations of domination and subordination characteristic of the world beyond school."[6]

To give the Professional Studies course status then, the staff and C.N.A.A. had to turn to the intellectual underpinning of the Credit. Pointing to the 'quality' of the Professional Studies Honours year course, for example, focused attention on content and it was suggested that "the ideal situation would be achieved if some topics could be followed up from year to year, so that school and college staff acting as supervisors could see the work developing through a series of stages" (Documents: 2.3.76). Notions by the course director as to the

ideal content were thus introduced and reinforced in terms of 'developing' work. It then becomes apparent that plain and unadulterated experience in the classroom was of less value than the proposed PS 180 with its heavy intellectual back-up. At the same time, the notion of developmental stages in relation to learning was reinforced, with the earlier work in the three year B.Ed course acting as the 'building-block' for the Honours P.S. Credit. At once the common sense notions of what is superior knowledge is introduced and reinforced and traditional perceptions tend to remain strong within the dominant ideology, despite efforts by C.N.A.A. to introduce important practical experience into the Honours course.

There is little doubt that traditional notions concerning intellectual quality, are an important part of these Professional Studies negotiations. These notions, it can be argued, are rooted in a traditional elitist culture, not utilitarian. Certainly it can be argued that the proposals for PS 180 were still defined in terms of the dominant ideology, concerned with notions of the 'educated man'. Implicit in what were perceived as the worthwhile activities for the Professional Studies course, were those commonly held assumptions concerning intellectual quality. Practical skills must be placed in a theoretical context. At Honours level the very focus had to be theoretical i.e. concerned with the curriculum and evaluation. The activity had to be some form of enquiry which could become associated with research.

Nevertheless, the practical basis of P.S. 180 ensured that, within the Honours year course as a whole, the Professional Studies Credit did not appear to rate very high in status amongst staff, although this was by no means exclusively the case. However I am thinking of main subject

tutors, who implicitly tended to set a priority on their main subject teaching when clashes occurred with 'applied' work, which they were involved with in the Professional Studies Credit. Students on the other hand tended on the whole to rate the Professional Studies Credit quite highly although, as the questionnaires show, there were substantial numbers who were a good deal less satisfied with it and saw it very largely as a waste of time.

An important point is raised here since two factors appear to be working in opposite directions with regard to PS 180. Firstly it can be argued that the stress on the essential nature of school based work appears to be related to desired changes in teacher education. This in turn, as has already been suggested, can be related at a wider level to attempts to change the nature of education in relation to the political, economic and social structure in Britain, a struggle visible also, I would argue, in government reports in the seventies. More able teachers with 'efficient' skills in the classroom was the emphasis. These, it was believed, would be required to help resolve the purported crisis in education. In the Bullock Report, and later in the Taylor Report, for example, it was suggested that problems were rooted in the inadequacies of certain teachers, usually newly qualified ones. But the logic then suggests that if these were the problems then it was in the training of these teachers where changes needed to occur, that more satisfactory skills could be developed. In this general context then school based work, proposed as an essential element of the B.Ed. Honours course of the three colleges, appears to reflect an antidote for these fears.

On the other hand in order to legitimate the Professional Studies Credit, under the circumstances which have been outlined, it became essential,

as has been seen, for more traditional perceptions of academic quality to be called upon. To justify school-based work in the Honours year, for already qualified if inexperienced teachers, using traditional perceptions of academic education seemed the most sensible and possibly the only way of establishing this Credit under the circumstances. Thus innovation and change on the one hand appear to be counteracted to some extent by traditional ideas concerning élite knowledge.

It can be argued that the latter served as a mechanism of resistance to the proposed changes, and accounted for the persistence of these characteristics of academic curricula in the Professional Studies Credit. Attention then turned upon what other aspects of academic work might prove appropriate and useful. In the current climate, evaluation had the advantage of fashion and the academic quality associated with scientific, or scientific-type procedures for analysis. Evaluation of their own teaching projects by students came to be seen as acceptable. Rationalisation processes then began to take place. Heads and teachers in the schools, it was perceived, would feel in no way threatened by judgements of other teachers (i.e. Honours students), providing these Honours students were evaluating their own teaching project. Evaluation had the added advantage of involving the necessary critical faculties seen as characteristic of academic quality.

Mechanisms

Privileging

Thus by the latter stage of planning, it is evident that few serious challenges to the new ideas had been made, or indeed would now be likely to do so. At no point was the status of C.N.A.A. challenged. The credibility of C.N.A.A. had been established right at the beginning because of the immense power over ultimate decisions which they held. All were invited to trust the 'privileged' judgement of those who, because of their powerful position in the negotiations, were best empowered to judge the suitability of Credits in an Honours year course.

While C.N.A.A. as a group 'out there' were privileged at this second stage of negotiations, it can be argued, certain others had become privileged also. They were the ones who had been delegated to lead, discuss and negotiate, i.e. the core group of tutors. By 1977 (Documents: 17.1.77) it was proposed that a Board, to which responsibility for the Credit could be delegated, should be set up and that the establishment of this Board should be based on certain criteria. Stability of membership for continuity was seen as important but, more important from our viewpoint, members, it was felt, should be selected according to defined qualities relating to the Honours year Credit! (Documents: 17.1.77). It was clearly important to decide on who should be responsible for making this selection! In purely practical terms it was felt that the Board should be so represented as to anticipate the numbers and interests of the students, yet realistic in terms of size, containing a school experience organiser and one member appointed by the Joint Academic Committee to chair the Board. In this way the credibility of the Board could be established. Selection of

members to the Board would then be seen to be carefully carried out according to certain democratic and academic criteria. It was evident that anyone who held a seriously critical point of view, and who might raise fundamental queries as to the nature of the course, would not be included. Certainly they would not be included unless they could be successfully 'coerced', or 'privileged' into becoming suitable members holding appropriate ideas once selected.

Another important series of tactics then ensured that at this point it came to appear as quite a natural development that these members, and the criteria for selection, should be proposed and accepted. Much of this stemmed from the ideas of the privileged group who were able to disseminate them widely and with authority. Those who had access to most of the material by implication were, or at least appeared to be, best suited to sit on some form of assessment committee. Others were effectively 'neutralised' in their 'opposition' by means of a light form of ridicule whereby their ideas were made to seem inappropriate. By means of these tactics negotiations and selection were promptly and, apparently, fairly simply carried out.

Another very important tactic related to the members' degree and quality of awareness of the events leading to the above proposals. Firstly an epistemology[7] of these events could have emphasised the development, and potential inadequacy, of a situation whereby the Ordinary degree was established as a three year course first, to which subsequently was added an Honours year. Whilst all were aware of this, this issue was not stressed and attention was suitably deflected. The 'acceptance' of such a situation was no doubt aided by the similarity of the proposed structure to the earlier three year Certificate model,

with a 'follow-on' one year course leading to an Honours degree. This made the structure for the C.N.A.A. degree less obtrusive. Its acceptance may also have had something to do with doubts concerning recruitment to the Honours degree course at a stage when colleges were becoming more competitive. Certainly the James Report (1972) was striving for an all-graduate profession and these events were subsequent to that point, although James did not perceive that a four year Honours course was viable economically for all teachers. What I am arguing however, is that the beginnings of these negotiations stressed only the lack of school-based work in the fourth year Honours course and that the only way to put this right was by including some professional work in schools. Professionalisation of teachers was of the highest priority. Classroom practice was an essential. That was then the extent of the 'history' leading up to the major outcome. How to plan and implement it was left to the college staff. More radical structural solutions to an overall problem were not considered nor were, (or could be!), the decisions and advocacies of C.N.A.A. called into question.

Limitations then had been carefully drawn around the way forward. Based on the above developments, discussion came to turn upon what was meant by suitable 'intellectual' quality. While there seemed to be an overall consensus about the need for intellectual quality within the Professional Studies course,its nature was not clear or agreed upon. Emphasis on 'research' was in evidence. balanced against an emphasis on 'teaching' within the proposals for school-based work. The former had of course already been firmly rejected at the Conference of Heads, held earlier, but this process of devaluing the notion of research continued, since many murmurings about it endured quite strongly .

A report (Documents: 24.11.76) was presented suggesting that there was a need to move away from the research emphasis towards a high level of teaching based on the students' theoretical study. Secondly it was felt that there was a need to relate the planning of one of the Education Studies Credits (ES 209) with the Professional Studies Credit. In these suggestions, I would argue, there are pressures towards the 'practice' of education so important in the Bullock Report, while the notion of research tended to be disregarded but with the implication that it was at the very least unsuitable for students wishing to become teachers. What they needed was 'practical' experience and informed professional expertise.

Influential groups

Various pressures continued to be placed on the way that PS 180 was to be developed. Certain individuals and groups held a particularly strong influence over negotiations. While initial inter-departmental support existed between the Professional Studies and Education Studies areas, because of the latter's alleged 'understanding' of what the Professional Studies group were trying to do, main subject tutors were less acquiescent. However, at this later point main subject tutors seemed to have advanced in co-existence as some of the Education Studies tutors perhaps became less involved. Certainly, particular areas of Education Studies were finding that they could not achieve their objectives. Social psychology, for example, had been interested in the topic of counselling. However, as has been seen, a group of pupils as a research sample was unacceptable and "... once we made it clear that pupils could not be 'guinea pigs', those members tended then not to be on the committee".[a] This sounded to be a diplomatic

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a. Interview: College M: DS)

solution whereas, in fact, it is evident that those whose ideas did not conform came to be excluded from the committee where decisions were made, not positively presumably, but in the negative sense that, since their ideas were rejected, such Education Studies tutors then were perceived as subsequently losing interest in PS 180.

Looking at developments from the point of view of the main subject area, there were interesting ideas emerging about Professional Studies work within the main subject 'umbrella'. In the French Department, for example, the list from which students could choose their topic involved 'problem statements' which, it was suggested, were sufficiently broad for a range of interpretations. To give an example, on implementation of the Credit, the investigation of a classified skill in language teaching was undertaken in two different ways by two students. The first examined the possibilities of the development of oral skill while the other investigated the development of listening comprehension. Each student applied himself/herself differently within the single problem statement.

The main subject tutors were increasingly becoming satisfied with the potential for Honours level work, which could be developed in relation to the Professional Studies area. The kind of activity, which was seen as appropriate, it was felt, made the students think more deeply and allowed them to pursue work along the lines in which their interest already existed. It was believed that both students and pupils in the schools got something from the course. Links with schools had been good too and clearly this had been an important feature of the early negotiations. There is little doubt that this close relationship with schools can be identified as a response to pressures for

increased practical or vocational work, in teacher education, such as could also be found in the recommendations of the James and Bullock Reports. With regard specifically to the French Department's work in the Professional Studies area, it seems that the school staff were appreciative of what the students had done.[a] In one case the project had proved useful in the school itself, when the approach to language teaching which the student had developed was adopted and developed further. The pupils too were affected, in that they were enthusiastic and felt they were better equipped to deal with a situation in France. Clearly the tutor involved perceived the work as beneficial to student, schools and their staff and pupils, criteria which had been established as important, in earlier negotiations.

Influential groups and common sense perceptions

The selection of influential and other persons and groups, who were to offer ideas and make decisions subsequently concerning the Honours Professional Studies course, revealed certain often traditional assumptions. It was decided (Documents: 24.11.77) that the implementation and administration of the Credit was to be the responsibility of sub-committees of the Board for Professional Studies (PS 180) and Education Studies (ES 200 and ES 209). Selection of staff was to take place on the basis of experience and qualifications in relation to the content of the Credit. Clearly this selection of staff involved the notion that only some would be suitably qualified. Whilst a practical credit, it nevertheless was seen to be one of academic rigour and dependent upon certain factors relating to both elements. The quality

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a. Interview: College M; MP.

of the staffing teams was evidently important to C.N.A.A. for names and details were requested by the B.Ed. Course Director (Documents: 31.1.79) for the February submission (Documents: 17.2.77).

In the selection of staff, the theory-practice assumptions remained penetrating. By late 1977 certain criteria had been identified as crucial for those main subject tutors who would be involved with the Professional Studies course. It is important to stress that it was anticipated that students would identify with main subject, Education Studies, or Professional Studies, in their investigations in PS 180 and tutors would be employed from these areas. Clearly then there were problems over availability of tutors for students in appropriate 'matching' numbers (Documents: 30.9.77). It was felt that those main subject tutors concerned should have teaching experience, normally in the age range with which the Professional Studies projects were concerned. They should also hold a relevant post-graduate qualification or should have studied curriculum theory through substantial involvement in curriculum development. Both of these latter criteria, I would suggest, emphasise academic quality, while the former obviously has a practical bias. The basic theme is clear. Staffing and developments evolved around notions stemming from the practical-theoretical dichotomy, the former being reinforced and justified in terms of the latter. What is important here is that the establishment of these criteria is seen as a perfectly natural evolution. In fact progress on PS 180 so far stemmed largely from traditional common sense perceptions within educational circles. These criteria, or common sense perceptions, reveal key assumptions concerning higher education, held by both C.N.A.A. and the core group of tutors. Assumptions were made that there was a need for honours work, even if practically based, to display a strong theoretical or academic

bias. The teaching team of the Credit PS 180 was to comprise the credit co-ordinator and staff selected after consultation between the principals, the credit co-ordinator and relevant co-ordinators for other areas of the Honours B.Ed. course. What is important here, however, is that the staff were selected as far as possible according to academic criteria.

From the point of view of these later stages of planning, it is certain that the influential individuals and groups had already been imbued with the dominant prevailing way of thinking with regard to the Credit. The way was therefore now open to proceed to the final stages which were originally foreshadowed basically at the outset, i.e. that there should be a school based credit, whatever the particular interpretation put upon it. Educationists would almost certainly wish to legitimate it, either by 'assessing' it, or 'intellectualising' it, or both.

By the final stage a certain 'common sense' view about what was appropriate for the Professional Studies Credit was emerging. I use the term 'common sense' here, and in other parts, to refer to 'spontaneous' views held by tutors and others in education, concerning the nature of academic work, etc. Bureaucratic structures were developing: a Subject Board and a Subject Examination Board, the former to be responsible for the administration of the Credit, developing assessment criteria and procedures, the latter to be responsible for agreeing the titles of the topics and recommending the grades of students to the Professional Studies and Education Studies Examination Board. Within the three colleges this clearly meant increasing standardisation.

The teaching team for the Credit was to identify jointly suitable topics and validate them in terms of Honours study. The implementation of the Credit in relation to the schools was considered vitally important as it was conjectured that over the years the specific links between the Colleges and the schools would result in considerable commitment of school staff to the type of topic being investigated. What is important here, however, is that P.S. 180 was developing as a bureaucratic structure, as a microcosm of wider society, with all its implicit values.

The teaching team reflected the less narrow subject orientation of the proposed Professional Studies Credit. For example, the 'suitable' topics, from which fourth year Honours students were to select for their investigation in consultation with staff, were to be presented in a prepared list. Work was to be planned by the student in consultation with his or her tutor, with individual supervision being about twelve hours per student per year. It was clearly felt that the teaching team would take advantage of its joint strengths to provide additional guidance through consultation arrangements. Clearly this course would have to involve a good deal of co-operation. It is evident that tutors from the different areas were to be drawn together in the Professional Studies course, that this course was to develop a very different 'philosophy' from that of hitherto separate Education Studies and main subject areas. In many ways this suggests a shift in the power base away from traditionally perceived segregated knowledge[8] and partially away from what may be termed high status knowledge, most frequently associated with institutions of higher education.

Discourses

What seems to be important as well is that the topics, selected for the students to investigate were likely to be created within the parameters of 'progressive' ideological thinking, since they were to be created

by the established teaching staff who were almost certainly working within a liberal-democratic orientation. It can be argued that, in this way, the content of the Professional Studies Credit would serve to reproduce many of the existing values concerning what is valued in education. Such a procedure would tend to result in 'the reorientation of education normally along progressive lines'.[9] These topics were likely to reproduce and legitimate the once dominant progressive ideology. But it is evident also that the school based nature of the course embodied changes which were taking place, changes which increasingly stressed the need for contact with schools and classrooms and 'efficiency' within the school. Thus to evaluate one's own expertise in the classroom had become the predominant emphasis of the Credit, despite the progressive terminology frequently used.

The fact that it was seen as necessary to develop practical skills in Honours degree students with already qualified teacher status transmits, if implicitly, a different set of values from those elitist values normally prevalent in higher education. In some respects it can be argued that the whole B.Ed. Honours course was moving towards a less intellectual emphasis, which was legitimated and reinforced by its containment here in the Professional Studies Credit. It is not unreasonable to suggest that these potential teachers, in their turn, would reflect a similar shift in orientation. Donald argues that manual skill and anti-intellectualism may both be seen as components of the new ideological settlement on the working class. The implication is that mass education is more likely to have a practical rather than an elitist, intellectual emphasis, elitist forms of education no longer being appropriate or suitable under such conditions. It has also been argued that the progressive ideology has a history,

distinct from the more utilitarian concerns of professionalism.[11] Its roots are in romanticism, but its articulation as a pedagogic style and approach are more firmly fixed in the period of compulsory state education. Initially, during the 1930's, 'progressive' ideas were subordinated to the central concept of intelligence and its acceptance in the training colleges partially fuelled the teachers' demands for autonomy in the classroom. Without that autonomy the flexibility required by this approach would have been limited by external constraints. I would argue that a 'progressive' discourse, for example in the wording of a number of the topics, remains but in this instance serves to promote the newer 'efficiency' ideals, arguably in the form of 'evaluation'.

Those selected for membership of the Professional Studies Board were vested with authority, on the practical and intellectual grounds, already discussed. Thus they were able to approve the title of the topics and to help students to select ones which were suitable. The significance of what had been happening so far, it can be suggested, is that it was this group of individuals who had been accorded the 'right to make important decisions' about course content. The status had been decided upon by the Joint Academic Committee who were the controlling body for the Honours programme, as well as the Ordinary degree programme. But of course it is perfectly possible to argue that indirectly it was external bodies, such as C.N.A.A., and even more remotely the D.E.S., who were ultimately responsible for the shift towards the inclusion of such 'practical' activities.

The theoretical ideology underpinning the rationale then became clear. The intellectual aspect of the practical credit involved a proposal that the Honours year was designed to allow students, who had completed the Ordinary

degree, to use and extend their knowledge and skills in one of the three main areas (Main Special Field, Education Studies and Professional Studies). The rationale involved an emphasis on 'continuity' in the development of skills from one course to another and from one area of work to the next. Students, it was suggested, perhaps somewhat optimistically, would bring a range of skills and interests from their earlier studies. They would bring them also from a range of subject areas. It was asserted that they would have a knowledge of the learning process and associated problems from their Professional Studies, and planning skills from their own personal study and school experience. Additionally it was felt that they would have experience of, and commitment to, the teaching of a particular subject/or age range. This rationale, an aspect of the syllabus, may be seen as a form of theoretical ideology, providing the context within which the everyday practices and routines occur, although clearly there is a difference between expectations and implementation. Thus continuity was a key element, in theory at least, so that what was happening in the Honours Professional Studies course was seen as a yet higher stage in the building blocks of learning. This, as already indicated, was a further requirement of C.N.A.A., that PS 180 should build upon and develop some continuity with the Ordinary degree course. Thus we can conclude that efforts were being made, at least in theory, to deal with this requirement. Interests then from the students' earlier studies, were to provide the impetus from which would spring an aspect of study, to be dealt with in a way which all know to be superior because of its placement in the Honours year. Practical skills, then, and applied investigations were important even if they had to be reinforced with intellectual depth.

Various discourses,as has been suggested, had clearly been employed to promote the ideas thus far developed in relation to PS 180. A liberal-democratic discourse implied a consideration of student perceptions. The proposed course was required to be capable of gaining 'students' interest' and 'confidence'. An intellectual discourse had clearly been employed also. For example it was suggested that it was important for intending teachers to have a knowledge in depth of one subject, whatever the age range they were planning to teach. Another more practical discourse emphasised the importance of practical skills pointing to the need for continuing contact with schools. Studies in college, it was argued, needed to be in the context of the school and the future job. This discourse on practice parallels quite closely the emphasis on the need for improved teaching skills , to be found in the James and Bullock Reports. Certainly it may be suggested that practical notions were already clearly entering the thinking, related to teacher training, about appropriate content of B.Ed. degree courses. It seems perfectly reasonable to argue that, in relation specifically to PS 180, it was largely by the inclusion of Professional Studies, as a viable and crucial Credit in the Honours year, that a change in emphasis from purely intellectual activity to one modified by the inclusion of some form of practice ,was taking place. Certainly the inclusion of Professional Studies institutionalised the importance of practical experience in Honours level work. Such discourses served to merge the two major themes which interwove to develop the Honours year course overall and the Professional Studies course in particular. But in the latter case the two aspects had to be merged more closely together.

Nature of the Professional Studies Credit

One Education Studies Credit, concerned with the disciplines of philosophy, psychology, sociology or history, was seen as complementing different aspects of the other Education Studies Credit (ES 209) and the Professional Studies Credit [illegible] by focusing the contribution of one of the disciplines to a consideration of issues in education. Additional influences arose from the relationship between main subject and Professional Studies. These stemmed from the list of topics, from which students could select one, to pursue in the form of an investigation within their main subject areas. The personnel would, in such a situation, be common to both areas. Main Subject tutors would therefore bring to the Professional Studies course a knowledge of their subject. This would link the subject expertise in curriculum theory and a knowledge of the school situation together.

Thus what were the perceptions of the nature of Honours study? Intellectual qualities were stressed. These included an emphasis on particular skills (e.g. analysis, synthesis, evaluation). Further perceptions of Honours level work involved students developing independence in their studies and producing critically appraised evidence; also making judgements about selected material and its relationship to a particular argument. Books, reviews and research papers were to be used as source material. These were the important and appropriate elements of intellectual quality.

Practical considerations were involved as well. The need for economies resulted in the limiting of choice for students within the whole fourth year B.Ed. Honours degree course. Both a need to guarantee particular aspects of study, and the then declining student

numbers, exacerbated this problem. Nevertheless as a compensatory factor there remained a choice within the Professional Studies Credit and within the Education Studies options. However, while Honours students were to be provided with a choice in their Professional Studies Credit, the opportunities would not be unlimited.

Elitist perceptions were also important, for the selection of students for the Honours course was an important factor. The student intake, it was decided, should be made on the basis of success in the Ordinary degree. This was decided since the studies for the Ordinary degree programme were seen to provide a suitable foundation for the Honours year. Weak students, it was felt, at least in theory, could be counselled about the inadvisability of entering the Honours course. In practice however this was likely to operate very differently, with students who were able to obtain posts leaving whatever their intellectual achievements. The Honours year then was likely to prove to be for those who did not obtain posts in such stringent times rather than for the more able students alone.

Values related to teaching methods, observable in the Bullock Report, were visible also here. All students entering the fourth year would have had experience of seminar work, individual tutorials and personal study. All would have carried out literature searches and some would have used original source material (Documents: 2.3.76 and others). For the Honours year the principle of independent study had been extended and on the whole the student would be expected to take considerable initiative in his/her studies. The same general principles that were the basis of assessment in the Ordinary degree were employed in the development of the Honours year assessment. The request by C.N.A.A. for particular characteristics to be developed in P.S. 180, was being

met. What is noticeable about the above qualities is that they contain traditional perceptions of intellectualism. It was these which it was hoped would satisfy C.N.A.A., not qualities related to skills in the classroom, the newer emphasis which C.N.A.A. had been insisting upon.

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Chapter 4. STAGE III: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROFESSIONAL STUDIES COURSE: INSTITUTIONALISATION OF SEPARATE AREAS

Despite early misgivings by main subject tutors about the development of the Professional Studies Credit as a separate area, as already suggested, attitudes had begun to change. And certainly by the third stage, the stage of implementation of the Credit, these tutors' opinions had been revised. What appears to have occurred is that, in practice, the Professional Studies Credit had actually provided more contact hours for main subject tutors rather than, as they had feared, less. Two Credits now could be available for main subject work, one 'pure' and one 'applied', as it were, in the Honours course. In the previous Honours course some 'methodology' had existed within the main subject Credit, now that Credit could remain devoted to the subject itself, with 'methodology' within the orbit of PS 180. This then meant that 50% of the Honours course could be earmarked for main subject work, rather than a mere 25%, if the student so chose.

Nevertheless there remained misgivings about the institutionalisation of Professional Studies as a part of the Honours degree. One important effect of such institutionalisation was that there was a more clear dividing line between main subject and professional studies, which was seen as unhelpful. Another important effect was concerned with the fact that professional work had to be graded. This was seen as unsatisfactory since "... it takes away from producing good work".[a)]. Additionally the 'evaluation' aspect of the Professional Studies Credit

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a) Interview: M.P. College P. French

remained a problem, since it was felt that it was difficult not to take into account teaching potential in any judgement of Professional Studies work. But, as has been seen, teaching potential was not to be taken into account at Honours level because of the fact that B.Ed. Honours students were already fully qualified teachers.

Again the separation of Professional Studies from main subject work tended to be less clearly marked in practice, since many main subject tutors supervised in both areas. Nevertheless, there remained some difficulty over status with regard to subject tutors, who were asked which department they would like to belong to. Not surprisingly it seemed to be that main subject work had higher status than Professional Studies and those with specialist qualifications tended to be attracted to the main subject area. Involvement in main subject work tended to give those tutors higher status although to some extent, main subject work tended to gain status because of the participation of the more highly qualified. Either way this hierarchical differentiation clearly existed, not explicitly, but it was often observable in the tone and comments of tutors in the interview situation. This was not of course a simple correlation since Professional Studies tutors themselves were required to have some further qualifications in research or curriculum study. But such staff were less likely to be those who had done further subject study, although again there would be exceptions. This suggests that notions of status tended to be underpinned by traditional assumptions concerning subject specialisation.

The theory-practice dichotomy

In the main subject area, assumptions then, in common with those held by tutors in other areas, revealed those elements which were valued in

higher education. Asked about criteria used for assessing the quality of Honours students work in Professional Studies, beyond those laid down in the official guidelines for PS 180,it seemed that width of reading, and the extraction of effective ideas from this reading were crucial factors. Beyond this it was essential to estimate how well the student had evaluated in his investigation and how critical he had been. Finally one needed to see whether he had drawn any effective ideas out of his work.[a] It is evident from this that traditional élitist or academic perceptions about necessary qualities tended to predominate. Practical skills were not really included. Qualities of Honours level Professional Studies meant an emphasis on evaluative and critical qualities. Considered against the background of the theory-practice dichotomy, the emphasis tended to fall on the former.

Yet again however, practice was not totally submerged for the investigation was seen as a form of research and, while research falls more easily into the theoretical category, it needed to be practically based:

> "Research needs to be as practically based as possible. The investigation has to be academic with research method evaluation techniques. It has to be research which could be useful - as long as the topic is practically based. They (the students) need to do wide reading, as long as it doesn't become too theoretical".[b]

The ambivalent attitude of the tutor, as he moves between the two antitheses theory and practice , reveals the underlying struggle to make sense of a professional Credit in a traditional, academically-based orientation. Research becomes a key concept, possibly because of its nineteenth century roots in practice . With research , it

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a) Interview: M.P. G. - French
b) Interview: M.P. G. - French

is possible to include something from each: criticism on the one hand and practically based on the other. The tutors' rationalisation however reveals the deep struggle that is involved. Clearly this is the basic problem with a course of this nature. Traditional and newer perceptions meet head on. However the purpose of an assessed school based Credit (S.B.W.) had to be legitimated by some criteria. The solution proved to be constantly difficult, being resolved or not in a number of cases, to varying degrees by the different tutors, with responses giving rise to a number of the subsequent difficulties.

Further selection of and struggle for control of ideas

Once the P.S. Credit had been implemented, the problems to be surmounted tended to be of a different quality. Towards the end of the first year's implementation, there was an evident acceptance of the basic tenet of the course, in theory at least, although in practice, the struggle over ideas continued to some extent. By the end of the first year's implementation of the Professional Studies Credit, certainly new problems were emerging. Problems over ideas had been discarded to be replaced by newer, more practical issues which had to be resolved. The questions came to be concerned with such matters as the standardisation of the marking and tutoring of topics. Standardisation became a particularly important issue in view of the fact that there were a number of different groups: different subject areas and three geographically separate colleges. Concern then was no longer with the production of ideas, but with their validation in relation to the organisation and implementation of the course. At this stage it was evident that significant variations in standards were occurring and that these were accentuated by site problems. Difficulties then arose over what was perceived as a marked discrepancy in standards between

groups and areas and what was significant was that explanations were varied. Amongst these explanations it was even implied that perhaps certain students,e.g. those at G., were less capable than others. At once traditional assumptions concerning the low status of practically based Home Economics became visible. As for the students at College M, it was felt that most had undertaken some curriculum perspectives in their third year. Perhaps for that reason it was intimated, they went on to the fourth year better prepared. It is important to note here that the tutor speaking was a tutor at College M.. In any event the problem was, ostensibly at any rate, one of standardisation' and difficulties were attributed to inappropriate grading at G.. The issue became especially critical after moderation with examiners, at the end of the first year, when grades at G. were reduced considerably to obtain a 'certain consistency'. This moderation was followed by complaints from the students originating at G.. But this dissatisfaction among students spread to College P. and, finally to College M.. Two letters were sent by the students expressing their concern over the course. This was expressed as a dissatisfaction over the organisation of the course, which, one tutor at least,[a] felt was in reality dissatisfaction over the assignment.

While there was a good deal of dissatisfaction, there were those who appreciated the work they had undertaken in PS 180. While many students signed the letter of complaint, 3 out of the 5 students, of the remainder who had not signed, pointed out that Professional Studies was 'the best thing that happened on the course'.[b] These,not

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a) Interview: T.B.; College M
b) Interview: D.S.; College M.

surprisingly, were students who had done particularly well on the course and who presumably had participated effectively. A number of staff considered PS 180 to be an excellent activity too. Thus attention was drawn to the variability of response to the Professional Studies Credit. Like College M., College P. also prided itself on traditionally providing a supportive Professional Studies environment for their students, because traditionally as a college they had been 'very keen on professional work', an approach favoured from Certificate days. Consequently this group maintained an aura of security with regard to the implementation of Honours level Professional Studies for their students. What is important about this is that students from the three sites had been seen to respond differently to the Professional Studies course. Explanations for this on the whole were realistic, but there was some intimation of 'inadequacy' on the part of College G., with some hint of the status of main subject work as being partially at least related to the difficulties there.

While 'ideas' about the nature of the Professional Studies course had ostensibly been resolved, nevertheless what appears to have happened, during this first year of implementation, was that uncertainty remained about the nature of the course in the struggle for control of ideas concerning 'standards' and 'quality' between the different groups. It is evident that the standards imposed by the dominant group, i.e. the prime movers in initiating the Credit at College M., were the dominant ones. It was the others, especially those at College G., who did not appear to meet up with the requirements. Certainly there did not seem to be any consideration that, e.g. the standards at College G. might have been the 'right' ones. In the event the 'acceptable' standards of College M. were further consolidated by

C.N.A.A. support. What seemed to emerge was that, not only were College G. standards not 'correct' they were, by inference, 'inferior'. What we can conclude from this is that although PS 180 had been established in theory there remained elements of struggle in practice which also had to be reconciled. In other words the battle was only part-way won with regard to the establishment of the key ideas, prior to the implementation. The problems however at this stage were seen to some extent as a natural emergent out of earlier developments. They were problems of implementation and standardisation and, bearing in mind the structure of the college, this was perceived as comprehensible. They were therefore to be resolved naturally by moderation with examiners and tutors from the three colleges. Standardisation appealed to a sense of fairness on the one hand, and concern over student satisfaction responded to demands for student participation, on the other. Yet, it can be argued, these were strategies invoked to bring about conformity with the ideas and perceptions held by the dominant core group.

At this stage another tactic was employed, that is the tactic which makes events seem quite natural . The above were seen as 'inevitable teething problems' and it was felt that 'progress would be made gradually towards an elimination of these problems. Information subsequently went out to students and tutors, information which 'tightened up' marking and moderating procedures to avoid problems in the future. This was clearly a reference to standardising tutors' interpretation of Honours level quality. Many of the problems, however, were perceived as essentially practical ones.[a)] After all some schools were further away than others. There were problems of snow, of oil-heating shortages

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a) Interview: D.S. College H

in the schools. Other schools had a change of Head of Department and sometimes the new Head of Department did not agree with what the student was doing. All this subjected students to problems which, in the opinion of some staff, they should not have experienced. While such factors undoubtedly had impact, it is doubtful whether students would be so dissatisfied on this account alone. It is interesting once again to ponder, that problems chanelled into a concern over practical issues, might well have developed in this way because they could be modified in a number of practical ways. They were problems which could be resolved by specific and material changes. But further dissatisfaction was formulated in the student letter at the end of the course and after the 'débâcle' with the grades. It undoubtedly reflected something deeper. To staff, and perhaps to students, the 'real' struggle was one of difficulties over academic standards, grounded in a practically based experience.

However it is clearly evident also that there were other aspects to this struggle, within the then three college set-up, (now all one College and one disbanded). It is possible to argue that it was a struggle for power, for control of the Professional Studies Credit. On the whole the core group from College M had set themselves up as arbiters of suitable content for PS 180. Educational discourse was of course employed, but beneath this were to be found also the economic and practical problems of staffing in the light of amalgamation. Certain members of staff had held high-status posts which had in some way had to be re-distributed. The two heads of Education Departments, at College M and College P, were re-appointed, one as Chairman of Professional Studies, one as that of Education Studies. Although there were later changes, at this stage, once a tutor from College M was appointed officially as Chairman of Professional Studies, the game

came to be centred at College M. Thus it was not surprising that College M. held the dominant position and that power came to be centred on the group at College M. It is not altogether uncharitable to suggest that the two separate areas of Professional Studies and Education Studies were especially useful in accommodating these two former Heads of Department. It could absorb effectively and employ those higher appointees in the individual colleges, once the joint college had been established. Economy may well have been part of the objective in the planning, and practical and expedient objectives might well have played an important part in these events. In any event it was possible for staff at College M. to maintain their dominant position and to be critical of other areas. Thus it was perceived that problems arose at College G., and that this was for possibly two reasons. There were difficulties firstly over tutoring and secondly over students' ability to communicate. College G. were in an infinitely difficult position, at this point, since their impending closure, by the first year's implementation, had been clearly made apparent. Their bargaining position was therefore virtually non-existent. Course quality then became the focus of attention. Indeed some of College G. students' Design documents, it was suggested, had remained at the level of 'lesson plans'. The fact that some tutors did not appear to have tutored at all beyond the original lesson notes was attributed to the lack of staff familiarity in the area of curriculum studies and research and their failure to realise that they were not coping with the essential basis of the course.[a] In any event this and other problems escalated when students held their meeting about organisation and their concern over what they were supposed to be doing.

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a) Interviews: College M; A.M. and T.B.

Ensuring that the development of problems is seen as quite a natural evolution in the circumstances is a very important tactic for ensuring their solution. What is interesting at this point however, is that the problems and crises at this stage are seen, at least by the core group, predominantly as ones of a practical nature. They are the kinds of problems which it is implied might quite simply evolve in any such situation. These are the quite natural problems of synchronisation and standardisation between so many different groups. What has happened however is that these were not the only or inevitable problems. They were clearly ones which were symptomatic of a struggle for control between the different groups, the subject groups and sites, as well as of much more deep rooted problems. One of these, I would argue, is the fundamentally contradictory nature of the Credit. However what is important is that the problems raised were the ones selected to be presented to all concerned, for problems of standardisation were ones which could be fairly easily resolved. Other more concrete or material problems, such as arrangements with schools, could also be resolved in material fashion. Grades could be adjusted and moderation, a perfectly permissable activity in Higher Education, could occur. School arrangements could be dealt with. C.N.A.A. entered into such adjustments as a strong legitimating force. The 'Other'[1] i.e. the problems of control and status, were submerged by the weight of specified practical and other problems.

As to whether the course increased the students' capacity to teach, the response was less than clear for it was "hoped that they would be better teachers", with a better awareness of skills. Hirst[2] suggests there are four necessary elements to all professional activity, because he takes them to be the necessary elements of all rational action. All

human action he argues, involves understanding, practical judgement, skills and dispositions. Adequate professional training in Hirst's view therefore involves developing "... students' abilities to operate rationally in all these four respects in relation to their teaching responsibilities". In many ways Hirst's views link with those of the Professional Studies course. Teaching skill was in a way enhanced, at least this was the intention, and evaluation was the major basis of the course. While understanding skills and judgement were then important aspects of the Credit, nevertheless good intention tended to become confused with objectives . However I am not altogether sure that it is possible to identify and measure such objectives, as those Hirst proposes, in such a field of learning activity as this one.[3]

Additionally, the fact that the course had come to be developed in this particular way was in many senses a tautological exercise. The circular case of C.N.A.A. requirements and the resulting course are not then surprising. Clearly C.N.A.A. worked within the general guidelines laid down in government policy and the requirement for school based work must clearly be a manifestation to some extent of the James Report's (1973) requirement for improved Teacher Training. Graduate courses were to be more flexible and challenging "... without loss of emphasis on the development of professional skills".[4] Chambers argues that "the U.G.C./C.N.A.A. guidelines" (i.e. the report of a study group set up by the University Grants Committee and the Council for National Academic Awards) were "... prescriptive in spite of their early disclaimer".[5] The new degrees would "... need to equip students with the professional skills of a teacher"[6]. They would need to provide balanced programmes "... which contribute to the quality of the teacher both as a skilled professional and as an educated person."[7]

What I am suggesting is that certain individuals and groups were in a good position to propagate effectively their views. If someone has virtually total power, however moderate it may be made to appear, it is evident that control over operations is virtually total too. Perhaps the most powerful of these bodies the C.N.A.A., in its requirement that there should be contact with schools in the fourth year B.Ed. Honours course, could be held responsible for pointing the course in a firm direction.[a)] Once they were sought as a validating body, C.N.A.A. were in a powerful position. If the College wanted its B.Ed. Honours degree to be validated, then the fourth year had to include some school based work. C.N.A.A., it can be argued, was prescriptive rather than just the disseminator of ideas,which argument tends to be borne out by the various submissions. Its control over implementation was strong. Not only must the B.Ed. Honours course contain school based work acceptable to C.N.A.A. in order to be validated, but the kind of content of P.S. 180 was being to some extent limited. No doubt the emphasis on the importance of professional skills,to be found in the James Report[8],was linked closely with the recommendations of C.N.A.A. In a way then it is possible to perceive a certain continuity of ideas at work well outside the institution and pervading this specific Honours Credit in the form of Professional Studies. It would not be so noticeable were it not for the fact, as has already been argued,that such a practically orientated subject would traditionally, I believe, have been seen as incongruous at such a level. By the various tactics already identified, however, negotiations and questioning had been diverted from questions of what was to go into the B.Ed. Honours year course, since any discussion of this was irrelevant. By the second stage the struggle had come to be concerned with what the school based

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a) Interview: College M.: D.S.

component was going to include not with whether it should be there at all. By the third stage concern was with 'practical' problems which had quite naturally emerged during implementation.

Prior to early contact with C.N.A.A., other ideas had been mooted and serious questioning and argument had taken place. Before this point there had been a good deal of soul-searching and reflection on what should go into the Honours course. This struggle had centred around the Education Studies ., and main subject areas. Education had been much reduced in the first 3 years of the B.Ed. Ordinary degree and the fourth year B.Ed. Honours course proposals were to some extent a reflection of this. It had been mooted that there should be two units of Education Studies and two units of main subject. So clearly C.N.A.A. pressures had eliminated irrevocably this dichotomous situation.

At the second stage i.e. where there had been concern with what was to go into the course, another serious obstacle had been encountered. To operate anything other than a straightfoward school experience or teaching practice meant that the schools had to be positively involved and their co-operation had to be gained. Secondary Heads working with the Colleges had been invited to a meeting, but as I have already shown a good deal of conflict ensued. Anything that 'smacked' of 'research' or surveys had not been favourably received by the majority of heads. Some tutors had wanted to look at counselling and suggested this as a possibility. But it would have involved some investigation of social background. After the meeting with the secondary heads another alternative, the apparently more neutral topic of the curriculum, came to be viewed favourably. Rationalisation then began to take

place in various ways. Experience in PS 180 had to take some form of teacher-pupil activity in the classroom. A practical, vocational discourse, related to the needs of the student was employed to portray as highly unfavourable a B.Ed. course which prevented students' contact with schools for five terms, from the third year Autumn Term to their ultimate appointment as teachers. The ideological underpinning was beginning to shift.

But as we know there were also other practical considerations. Further support for school based work was 'drummed up' through a rational-scientific discourse which claimed that the course had to be assessable. Yet the students were fully qualified teachers already. This discourse then had led through to what was seen as an inevitable conclusion. What could students do in schools that could be assessed, if their teaching was no longer to be graded?

By the time of my observations in the colleges it was clearly evident, as has been suggested, that the framework for discussion had shifted, that a third stage had been reached but that all issues had not been fully clarified. The nature of the course and its organisation meant that there were many tutors involved only peripherally around a core group who had initiated and implemented PS 180. The year after my investigation, a department of Teaching Studies was in fact created and this would almost certainly, one would have thought, lessen some of these problems. Yet at that time, there had been great difficulty in spreading notions concerning the tone and the objectives of the

course. Some main subject and other tutors were concerned with only one student, others with a good many more. The course, as has been argued, had been devised partially at least around expedient criteria, e.g. availability of staff. In order to staff the Credit, as I have explained, not enough tutors had been available to 'man' a taught programme nor had they been available to be timetabled at a particular time. Work in groups 'had to be cost effective'[a]. It is worth noting that shortly after the publication of the James Report, financial stringency, amongst other factors, had caused many of its ideas to be shelved. By the Bullock Report (1975) and the Taylor Report (1977) more emphasis had been placed on economies within education. It must have been apparent within the three colleges, apart from the impending closure of one of them, that improved staffing ratios were not a viable proposition. Consequently hours had been restricted, ostensibly to help the students, but undoubtedly also to help with the staffing since it was felt that tutors could not spare any more time from their (more important?) main subject/Education Studies work, or other commitments.

The status of PS 180 in the Honours year, despite protestations to the contrary, was lower than that of Education Studies and Main Subject Field. This became more apparent in the assumptions held by tutors, in relation to where their priorities lay. For tutors who were involved with more than one area of work, if a choice had to be made for example between main subject and Professional Studies, then priority tended to rest with the main subject.[b] Sometimes this view was explicitly held, but often it was implicit. Additionally a progressive discourse

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a) Interview: College M: D.S.
b) Interview: College P. Science.

was invoked in support of individual tutorial programmes. One tutor argued that "students' needs are all so different!"[a] It was pointed out that they might not get anything from group contact in relation to time spent, in a course organised along such lines. It was argued that it was 'individual work' which counted. But it is evident that criteria of 'manning efficiency' and 'differential status' were the real factors upon which discussion turned and decisions were made.

Thus by the end of the first year of the Credit, certain modifications were being mooted. It was hoped that the original objectives would be kept, but that certain changes had almost certainly to be made with regard to methodology, with a difference in emphasis between the three aspects of the Credit. It was felt that planning and evaluation might become the main focus, with care that the student did not take on too ambitious a programme. A not too untypical comment was, "This is not a research project". A rational and practical discourse then tended to be employed, arguing that there was insufficient time for such an extended project as had been envisaged and implemented in the first year. One tutor argued "You cannot do it in a quarter of the Honours year". It was to be seen preferably as an 'enhanced bit of teaching' which could not be done on an ordinary teaching practice. The school-based emphasis was once again taken up: "Out of this we hope they will learn skills to teach better".[b] At this stage one can perceive a potential reassessment of the practice-research dichotomy. Reflections on the first year run-through had involved a consideration of the extent to which Professional Studies equipped the student to improve his teaching capacity, a point raised by Hirst, discussed earlier.[9] Much of the reflection seemd to be intuitive.

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a) Interview: College M: D.S.
b) Interview: College M: D.S.

It was 'felt' that PS 180 had helped students "to think about what teaching involved"[a] The teaching emphasis again was being drawn out. I would argue that, at the end of this first year's implementation, the advantages and disadvantages were being discussed in relation to the practical aspect of teaching. Earlier, around the period of student uncertainty with regard to the course, concern had been expressed more in relation to the academic variability and inadequacies of the course.

A number of practical difficulties were also raised. Other issues that needed to be dealt with involved the students being able to obtain the 'right' school. Another concerned the problems of staffing the course.[b] The original aim had been to take over part of the curriculum in the school and thus to participate in a normal part of school life. This had not always been the case.[c] Open entry to the Honours year, it was believed, had presented a particular problem too. All had gone well, provided students accepted reasonable counselling against proceeding to the Honours course. However difficulties over obtaining jobs, when some good students left to get jobs, with a B.Ed. Ordinary degree, while less able students, unable to obtain a post, returned to pursue B.Ed. Honours degrees, meant that the calibre of students was not as good as might have been hoped for. These more practical problems were the ones raised for discussion half way through this third stage, alongside shifts in focus and other modifications. Student perceptions revealed not dissimilar issues. After the first year's implementation of PS 180, questionnaires were sent out to all Honours

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a) Interview: College M.: D.S.
b) Interview: College M.: D.S.
c) Interview: College M.: D.S.

students and about one third were completed and returned to me. Overall, from the students' point of view, it was evident that there were very serious criticisms of the Credit at the end of this first year and that there had been a number of quite serious teething problems during the year. Many criticisms rested on the practical aspects of PS 180 and revealed a clear polarisation of positions held by the students, although there were a greater number who expressed some opposition towards the Credit rather than otherwise.

Theory-Practice assumption: 1979 sample

Notions and assumptions concerning the intellectual-practical polarisation were also quite widespread. Assumptions amongst students about the nature of 'intellectuality' and 'educated man' were revealed: PS 180 was deemed satisfactory for primary school teachers, not for secondary ones, who would be 'better studying main subject and subsidiary studies'.[a] Another student believed that PS 180 was more suited to an in-service course perhaps for prospective heads (although there was no explanation about this latter point), that it had little to do with specialist skills and chosen curriculum.[b] This student felt frustrated in the efforts made to meet the requirements of a 'scientifically valid' study. The rating of 'scientifically valid' was clearly high status in his view. One student[c] expressed clearly that it had been a particularly disappointing part of the course as he/she had been expecting a fourth year B.Ed. Honours course to be concerned with, or have an emphasis on, intellectual content. Clearly to this student the practical

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a) 1979 student: Secondary, Geography - 1
b) 1979 student: Jun./Sec., English - 2
c) 1979 student: Secondary, French - 6

quality had predominated and practical activity was not perceived as Honours level work. The assumption that intellectual quality should be pre-eminent in Honours level work revealed the traditional common sense assumptions shared by those concerned with higher education, certainly amongst this student sample. For this student the Professional Studies unit had not met the essential criteria for an Honours course. The incompatability of intellectual activity in the school situation was also perceived as an important issue: "It was hard to be an academic and a teacher of young children, when inexperienced in both", [a] said one student. There was a recognition that there were two important aspects to Professional Studies and that those tended to be incongruous, causing a number of problems: Professional Studies was not "proper research". [b] In these and other comments it can be perceived that students made assumptions concerning the academic/practice and research/teaching dichotomies. It was part of their common sense world. There was firstly the recognition of these two aspects to educational study, i.e. theory-practice and secondly, one or other aspect was seen as appropriate in particular situations.

Certain other factors were seen as valuable aspects of Honours level work. The availability of choice and the opportunity for taking responsibility for a project were seen as especially suitable and desirable. Such views were held by a minority of students but were voiced with real enthusiasm. One student said that it was " ... the only part of Honours work to allow him/her to choose an

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a) 1979 student: Primary, English - 16
b) 1979 student: Primary, English - 16

area of study and accept responsibility for it".[a] Another welcomed the importance of choice which was provided between the various topics, but felt however that this was not made clear by all staff in the planning meetings.[b] He was therefore fully committed to it and it was "the most worthwhile part of the fourth year course". Yet another felt that PS 180 was "the most enjoyable and rewarding part of the fourth year course. The aims of the Credit were right and did not need widening".[c]

The 'time' factor in relation to the extent of work required, was perceived by students as a very serious problem. It will be remembered that when the first expressions of concern arose amongst students during the first year that criticisms came to be channelled, partially at least, into the question of 'time'. Problems, however, one suspects, were much more deep-seated than that but, as already argued, time was a factor which could be dealt with in a material sense. Attention then was drawn to this and it is not surprising therefore if students raised it as an important area of criticism. The Credit, it was felt, deserved more assessment 'weighting' than the final percentage indicated. This is indicative, I would argue, of pressures towards rationality in our society. The longer one spends doing something, the greater its value. Other more practical criticisms were made: lack of adequate tutoring was one factor. Dissatisfaction was felt concerning the lack of briefing on experimental procedure and it was thought more co-operation was needed from the tutor.[d] PS 180 documents were

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a) 1979 student: Jun./Sec. - 10
b) 1979 student: Secondary - 8
c) 1979 student: Primary - 18
d) 1979 student: Secondary - 5

seen as 'long-winded'[a] and the course design element was perceived as not very practical,occupying too much time in relation to its assessment weighting.

Inherent conflict: problems of implementation of theory and practice.

Inherent within the nature of the course were the problems of liaising with the schools under special and possibly potentially threatening conditions for the school staffs while students attempted to carry out an academic investigation. Firstly there were essentially practical problems concerned with time arrangements with the schools. There was some suggestion that visits to schools would have been better in a block.[b] During the first year implementation, two whole days weekly had virtually been taken up because of travel. School work appeared to have been disjointed and it was difficult therefore to develop any strong commitments to the schools. Basically, I would suggest, these difficulties arose because of the required practical emphasis of the course. A further area of conflict derived from the students' paradoxical situation, i.e. a student on the one hand, a qualified teacher on the other. This actually tended to hinder work on the project.[c] Yet an additional area of conflict arose over the issue of school discipline. Where discipline problems existed this put the student/teacher at times in a difficult professional situation. One student experienced problems to such an extent that she came to hate both the class and the work.[d] Reservations were held concerning

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a) 1979 student: English, Secondary - 8
b) 1979 student: English, Secondary - 14
c) 1979 student: English, Primary - 16
d) 1979 student: English, Primary - 16

their standing in the school. It was felt that they could not threaten punishments. It was believed that work at Honours level ought to be kept out of schools for it was "... hard to be an academic and a teacher of young children".[a] Conflicts such as these, I would argue, tended then to emerge, because of the underlying contradiction inherent in the nature of the course.

In these views it is evident that certain common sense assumptions held by students about the nature of Honours degree work underpin these and other students' views about what an Honours degree course should include. It is notable that earlier, when discussing students' perceptions of PS 180, the comments on the Credit were not especially favourable to opportunities for more experience in schools. What did emerge was that students appreciated the opportunities to choose an area of study and accept responsibility for it.[b] What I am suggesting is that, while the purpose of including Professional Studies in the B.Ed. Honours course was for the students to retain contact with schools during this year, notions permeating both the James and Bullock Reports, nevertheless what legitimated PS 180 for many students was its intellectual quality and depth. However, others clearly felt that the 'intellectual' and 'practical' strands were not always compatible. There were also a few who felt the course to be too 'academic', while some, by contrast, did not feel it should be so 'practical'. Assumptions then concerning the difference between 'theory' and 'practice' are resolutely installed in students' thinking and they often perceive this as a source of their problems. It is notable that this is not -

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a) 1979 student: English, Primary - 16
b) 1979 student: Human Science, Jun./secondary - 10

particularly an issue taken up and acted upon by tutors to any real extent. There is a case to be made that this emphasis on practice, on Professional Studies in an Honours year, is part of the overall concern with the quality and skills of teachers in schools, as can be found also in the James and Bullock Reports. But the emphasis on intellectual quality is an aspect of educationalists' 'common sense' views, rooted in shared traditional assumptions.

An important far-sighted criticism of the Professional Studies course emerged around the notion that what was needed was preparation for schools, not as they are, but as they might be. Objectives of, and situations in, schools were indeed accepted by PS 180 as fact and not as problematical. Once again, this raises the question of preparing students for schools, without examining what kind of schools, and without questioning what they are for in the contemporary world. This is doubtless an important factor in reproducing teachers, schools and ultimately children, in the accepted traditional sense. In this way schools are, and continue to be, forces for conserving the 'status quo' rather than agencies for change.

While the first year run-through of the Professional Studies course, as might be expected, was especially revealing with regard to areas of dissatisfaction and conflict, the second year of implementation continued to focus upon certain difficulties also. Nevertheless these difficulties were of a lesser order but, it can be suggested as before, remained indicative of a deep-seated underlying conflict of ideas.

Student perceptions of PS 180: 1980 Sample

Students' views, of the second year of implementation, were sought

not simply from qualitative data, but from both quantitative as well as qualitative data. Since there appeared to be a polarisation of views emerging, I felt therefore that further analysis of questionnaires, along quantitative as well as qualitative lines, might provide other insights.

Attitudes at the end of the second year of the Professional Studies course revealed a fair degree of satisfaction, in line with the expressed objectives of the course. The three major areas of the course, the curriculum planning aspect, the implementation of this curriculum activity in schools and the evaluation of this exercise in professional practice had been, in most students' views, on the whole a successful and satisfactory undertaking. They believed that the Professional Studies course had effectively provided them with an opportunity to carry out an extended investigation in their chosen field. This was particularly favourably looked upon by the students. What it seems to suggest is that, in the students' minds, professional work was legitimated by its close relationship with more academic studies; with main subject work for some, Education Studies for others. For a few, however, Professional Studies itself was the source of their investigation. The area where they had the most serious misgivings was with regard to the effectiveness of the course in teaching them the necessary techniques of evaluation. Such an aim, it was felt, did not appear to be embodied within the course, nor was it evidenced in the ongoing activities . Other objectives also, it was felt, were not very clearly contained within the course. For example, while the Professional Studies course was seen to provide a reasonable opportunity to explore relationships between the theory and practice of the curriculum, nevertheless, it was felt, this was not an obvious feature of the course.

But there were certain other elements of dissatisfaction, less clearly defined, but nevertheless emerging as areas of tension. These had arisen around the selection of content for the students' course projects. While there was quite a large number however, who were dissatisfied with regard to this, there was also quite a large number who were satisfied. Such divergent views appeared to be site-based, with greatest satisfaction appearing among students at College M.

As with the earlier group it was clear that one area of tension arose around the question of students' approach to controlling and directing pupils. Clearly it stemmed from this question of qualified teacher-status on the one hand and the tutors' position in relation to this. There is little doubt that tutors were hesitant to pass any criticism in this direction. Once again then PS 180 appeared to have created a situation of ambivalence because of its practical quality in a situation which had been artificially contrived, in the sense that the Credit had had to embody what may be thought of as very different, and even incompatible, values. In other words, it had to be practical and it had to be of intellectual quality. Added to this was the expectation that such a course must be assessed. This was an area of difficulty for tutors, and this clearly filtered through to the students, who sensed the underlying tension. Tutors clearly did not feel to be in a position to offer advice to newly qualified teachers, certainly with regard to this aspect of their work. Indeed in many cases, unless expertly handled, it may well have been resented, had they done so. To avoid problems, tutors had shied away from this activity.

What is emerging from these comments is that they reveal a degree of

ideological conflict. It is my contention that such concepts as academic and practical qualities have their roots in very different structural positions. They embody distinctive sets of educational values, within their separate contexts. The political function of the élite ideology is to maintain 'a particular kind of socio-cultural élite'.[10] Where an élitist ideology holds sway, it can be argued, the traditional aristocratic notion of higher education is maintained. In such a case students are perceived as belonging to an élitist privileged group "... naturally ordained with the right of cultural presentation and dominance".[11] It can be argued that practical or vocational values, on the other hand, stem from the idea that "... education is fundamentally an economic resource",[12] that it should be used to contribute towards the industrial and economic development of Britain. Now, while teacher education is not especially a direct response to new economic goals in itself, nevertheless adequate and effective teacher performance become crucial elements in any such shift in goals. Teachers are integral and necessary to any programmes established within the schools which may be deemed the foundation of successful educational and economic performance.

Beyond this, the notion of 'effective' performance tends to suggest that teachers should be able to assess and measure along economic or practical lines too. Good teacher performance comes to equate in many ways with good economic performance. Added to this, one can then conclude that it is essential that poor teaching performance should not be allowed to be a drain on tight economic resourcing. This ideological shift "towards a predominantly economic view of education"[13] may clearly be tied to attempts to ensure good teaching performance:

> "Within this general budgeting system the D.E.S. also developed the human capital approach to further and higher education planning - a cost benefit analysis where expenditure on education is treated as a form of investment from which benefits accrue in the future, both to individuals receiving the education and to society as a whole."[14]

Tapper and Salter argue that at the end of the seventies the D.E.S. were moving towards a completely economic approach to higher education "both in terms of the goals pursued and the means used."[15] The D.E.S., it is argued, would not admit to ideological bias, and would claim that they were seeking after an 'objective reality' rather than viewing higher education in relation to its high status roots (e.g. the pursuit of knowledge). As Tapper and Salter suggest, "it just happens that this reality is 'economic'".[16] Of course it is evident that such values are far from unbiased, but such values stand a better chance of dissemination if they can be made to appear unbiased and unquestioningly natural. They can be sustained by notions that, if the country benefits from such activity in education, then it is beneficial for all. This ideology also suggests that education is directly in touch with reality.[17] What I suspect about this Professional Studies course however is that, far from one ideology having dominated the other, it appears that 'élitist' tendencies, on the one hand, and 'practical', 'vocational' ideals, on the other, come together, often in conflict with one another. They then manifest themselves 'on the shopfloor' in the various problems and tensions such as have been identified. The newer 'vocational' aims, it can be suggested, were the 'raison d'etre' of the Professional Studies Credit, but establishing the course at an Honours degree level had given rise to traditional and 'élitist' arguments, not least in important legitimating discourse.

There were three pieces of assessed work for the Professional Studies Credit, pertaining to the three major areas , the curriculum planning, the implementation aspect and the overall evaluation. By the end of the second year, 1980, it was the last of these, i.e. the evaluation, which came to rate as most important in both the students' and the tutors' minds. By that point in fact changes in the weighting of these elements of assessed work were being proposed. What is important about this, is that the shift in such weighting accommodated a change in values from those held in the initial stages of planning for PS 180, i.e. up to 1978. What one can hypothesise is that the reasons for this stemmed from a growth in importance of traditional perceptions of higher education, i.e. a growing emphasis on that aspect of the work containing more theoretical considerations; revealed in the evaluation . What is more, evaluation had scientific overtones, with its added authority. At the same time,by contrast,as already suggested, tutors were discussing P.S.180 in terms of teaching rather than research .

Assumptions of students

What was popular amongst students was the fact that the Professional Studies Credit enabled them to conduct an individual piece of work. This meant that individual tutorial situations were seen as an appropriate teaching strategy, although there was a discrepancy in views on how the course could best be taught. Some felt that some group work might have been beneficial , and that some lectures might have been appropriate . Indeed there had been some concern expressed among tutors, particularly those at College G., about the lack of

such lectures. Some lectures had in fact actually been given there at the beginning of the Credit introducing students to various techniques and helping them to overcome 'problems'. But this had not been altogether approved of by the influential 'core' group, i.e. at College M. Perhaps the ambivalent position held by the students reflected the influential staff view, on the one hand, while at the same time expressing certain misgivings in line with traditional perceptions of 'acceptable' and customary teaching methods.

These student perceptions, as identified in the questionnaires, reveal the assumptions held about the nature of professional work at Honours level. It was evident that 'practical' did not imply mere experience with equipment. Clearly PS 180 was not seen by the students as a simple means of coping with technical materials and skills in schools. This kind of practical work did not meet up with traditionally held assumptions about the quality of Honours degree work. It was evident that the emphasis of the Credit was upon 'ongoing' experiences in the classroom, rather than with regard to such things as perceptions of change in the schools, or perhaps of teaching as a force for change.[18] On the whole topics were selected for particular school situations and problem areas, or issues tended to be what the teachers in the schools perceived as ongoing problems. Thus the emphasis was very largely on school as it is, rather than as it might be.

Comparison between the two student samples: 1979 and 1980

It is evident that, in the 1979 sample, students perceived a discrepancy between the theoretical objectives of the Credit and what occurred on its implementation. Overall the students had an awareness of the intentions of the Credit, particularly with regard to the development of skills related to the evaluation exercise.[a] Nevertheless it was evident that, despite this awareness, the Credit had not been as successful in developing those skills in practice.[b] Such a discrepancy in perceptions, however, did not exist at all amongst the 1980 student sample.[c] Again there was a difference between the two groups with regard to the 'provision of opportunity for explaining relationships between theory and practice' of the curriculum, which was a purported objective of the Credit. Amongst the 1980 sample there was clearly reasonable satisfaction that PS 180 had provided the opportunity for exploring this relationship,[d] however only 44% thought that this had seriously been the intention of the Credit.[e] Somewhat less satisfaction appeared to exist amongst the earlier year group, with only 39% feeling that such an objective was actually embodied in the course, although a further 33% indicated that they had some awareness of it.[f] There was an ambivalent position with regard to the extent to which the Credit had actually helped them to experience this relationship between theory and practice, 40% felt that it had, while 40% believed that it had not.[g]

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a) Question 9a 1979 (intention). A & B: 60%; C: 15%; D & E: 25%
b) Question 10a 1979 (practice). A & B: 30%; C: 30%; D & E: 40%
c) Question 7A 1980 (intention). A & B: 80%; C: 16%; D & E: 4%
   Question 8A 1980 (practice). A & B: 80%; C: 16%; D & E: 4%
d) Question 8b 1980. A & B: 56%; C: 32%; D & E: 12%
e) Question 7b 1980. A & B: 44%; C: 44%; D & E: 12%
f) Question 9B 1979 A & B: 39%; C: 33%; D & E: 28%
g) Question 10b 1979. A & B: 40%; C: 20%; D & E: 40%

In relation to these two objectives then, discrepancies emerge concerning the stated objectives and those achieved on implementation. Clearly certain broader objectives, such as providing 'an opportunity to explore relationships between theory and practice', are difficult to put explicitly into effect, to give students an understanding of such an objective and to perceive an activity's value in this sense. 'Developing skills with regard to curriculum evaluation', as an objective, for example, is by contrast more specific and students are likely to be more aware of the effectiveness or deficiencies of this and more easily able to assess.

There is little doubt that such discrepancies as there are between what is intended and what actually happens is an important feature of most activities, particularly educational ones. Implicit attitudes, uncertainties with regard to overall objectives amongst tutors, student responses, school receptiveness, personality qualities and many other factors clearly had impact on this evaluation project. Certainly, to disregard the students' responses would be to leave out a crucial variable. In Sharp and Green's study, they point to the discrepancy between intention and practice at work in the school classroom. A Social Studies project taught to a year group, with the expressed intention of disregarding the streamed order of children, was found in practice, to have failed to do so because of the deep-seated attitudes of teachers concerning the streamed nature of their pupils.[19] While the significant point being made in the Sharp and Green study is a different one, I am drawing on the notion that there is very often a noticeable difference between intention and what occurs in practice.

These discrepancies then can imply a number of factors. In the normal course of events the first year run-through would be bound to give rise to a number of tensions because of the very nature of uncertainty and lack of confidence characteristic of such an innovation. Nevertheless very often enthusiasm for a new course outweighs this. From another point of view it could be argued that the ideas of the core group of tutors had been less successfully and consistently transmitted to the course tutors on the three sites during the 1978-79 implementation of the course. This inadequate communication then came to display itself in the differences between tutors and the various criteria they employed with regard to course implementation. As well there were clearly discrepancies in values held by tutors, with leanings towards research by some, and towards school based work by others. Uncertainty with regard to these aims and objectives of the course was undoubtedly an important source of tension and discontent amongst students. Certainly most of the questionnaires indicate that the 1980 students were much more satisfied with the Credit, than those in the 1979 sample. This points to the greater certainty and consistency amongst tutors with regard to what they were doing and to an extension of shared values. The early 'teething problems' had been resolved and, from the students' point of view, by 1980, the course was perceived as embodying particular objectives and tutors were reasonably satisfactorily putting them into effect. For the 1980 sample, the greatest source of dissatisfaction remained concerning the evaluation of the curriculum project, with regard to its contribution to professional practice.[a] But even here much greater dissatisfaction was experienced by the 1979 sample.[b]

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a) Question 8e 1980. A & B: 36%; C: 32%; D & E: 32%
b) Question 10e 1979. A & B: 32%; C: 21%; D & E: 47%

This latter group was also unhappy about the effectiveness of that aspect of the course concerned with the 'development of skills in curriculum planning, implementation and evaluation.'[a)]

More detailed activities, relating more specifically to the school-based element of the project, could be similarly contrasted. The selection of the content of the project[b)] and its organisation,[c)] implementation[d)], clearly rated more highly amongst the 1980 sample. Overall, 20% - 30% more students registered satisfaction with the Credit (i.e. as indicated in the A or B column),with regard to those activities, than did those in the 1979 sample. The greatest satisfaction among the latter appeared to be with regard to the 'selection of learning experience for the pupils'[e)] and 'planning the use of resources'[f)] although, in this latter instance, responses appeared to be diametrically opposed with 60% satisfied and 40% dissatisfied. Amongst the 1979 sample there was a feeling that inadequate attention had been paid to certain class-room activities where the student might have needed help, i.e. with regard to the control of pupils, coping with their problems and the time factor involved.[g)] But the 1980 sample did not display total satisfaction and there were signs of concern related to the 'selection of content for the project' (28%)[h)] and the 'planning of

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a) Question 10a 1979. A & B: 30%; C: 30%; D & E: 40%
Question 10d 1979. A & B: 45%; C: 20%; D & E: 35%
b) Question 10(a)g 1980. A & B: 54%; C: 17%; D & E: 29%
c) Question 10(a)c 1980. A & B: 67%; C: 25%; D & E: 8%
d) Question 10(a)b 1980. A & C: 50%; C: 20%; D & E: 8.5%
e) Question 6f 1979. A & B: 50%; C: 20%; D & E: 30%
f) Question 6e 1979. A & B: 60%; C: 0%: D & E: 40%
g) Question 6b 1979. A & B: 30%; C: 35%; D & E: 35%
Question 6c 1979 A & B: 36%; C: 21%; D & E: 43%
Question 6d 1979. A & B: 30%; C: 30%; D & E: 40%
h) Question 10(a)f 1980. A & C: 54%; C: 17%; D & E: 29%

the use of resources' (16.6%).[a] There was also a small body of dissention with regard to help given with 'classroom control',[b] 'pupil problems',[c] and the 'time' factor[d] but in each instance, unlike the case of the 1979 sample, this was balanced by a greater number who were satisfied.

It can again be argued that this ambivalence reflects the nature of the course, with its practical and theoretical qualities enmeshed. As I have already suggested, the relucance of tutors to interfere with the class-based activities of formally qualified teachers was an undisputed source of tension.

With regard to the development of special techniques, for carrying out their study, and the basis of educational theory involved, there was a very even outcome in the 1979 and 1980 samples.[e] Clearly in each case both 'evaluation techniques' and 'educational theory' had formed important and focal points for each course. What is important to note, though, is that 'evaluation techniques' elicit variable responses throughout the 1979 and 1980 questionnaires. (see questions (1980) 7a and 7d; 8a and 8d and 10(c)a; (1979) 9a and 9d; 10a and 10d and 6(c)a)). On the whole responses were reasonably favourable except for 10a with the 1979 group, where there was a serious questioning of the help students had received in this regard.[f] This does not mean that evaluation was not perceived as an important activity of the Credit however.

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a) Question 10(a)e 1980. A & B: 62.5%; C: 20.8%; D & E: 16.6%
b) Question 10(b)b 1980. A & B: 50%; C: 25%; D & E: 25%
c) Question 10(b)d 1980. A & B: 62.5%; C: 20.8%; D & E: 16.6%
d) Question 10(B)c 1980. A & B: 38%; C: 29%: D & E: 33%
e) Question 6(c)a 1979. (evaluation) A & B: 48%; C: 26%; D & E: 36%
Question 10(c)a 1980. (evaluation). A & B: 50%; C: 25% D & E: 25%
Question 6(c)b 1979 (edth.). A & B: 50%; C: 30%; D & E: 20%
Question 10(c)b 1980 (edth.) A & B: 50%; C: 25%; D & E: 25%
f) Wuestion 10a 1979. A & B: 30%; C: 30%; D & E: 40%

The three major areas of the students' investigations, which were each to be assessed, were focused around the planning stage, the implementation and the evaluation of the project. With the 1979 group there was again a good deal of dissatisfaction. It appears that the students felt that the investigation had not helped them to develop the intended skills within these areas. 52% said that the investigation had not really helped with curriculum planning[a)] and there was little enthusiasm for the implementation aspect.[b)] Compare this with the enthusiasm expressed by the 1980 sample, when virtually the whole sample indicated the helpfulness of the Credit in developing the necessary skills to deal with such aspects.[c)] An exception was to be found, in the 1979 sample, with regard to the evaluation aspect, where there was a certain degree of satisfaction,[d)] which contrasts with the 1979 Question 10a. Despite this, 88% of the 1979 sample attributed greatest value to the evaluation report, 60% to the course design document with only 37% to the records of implementation.[e)] As many as 58% did not value this aspect very highly at all. By contrast the 1980 sample rated each aspect as valuable, weighting the 'records of implementation' equally with the 'course design document'.[f)] The 1980 sample rated the 'evaluation report' very highly indeed.[g)]

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a) Question 5a 1979. A & B: 24%; C: 24%; D & E: 52%
b) Question 5b 1979. A & B: 35%; C: 45%; D & E: 20%
c) Question 11a 1980. (curriculum planning) A & B: 80%; C: 12%; D & E: 8%
Question 11b 1980. (implementation).A & B: 76%; C: 20%; D & E: 4%
Question 11c 1980.(evaluation). A & B: 88%; C: 8%; D & E: 4%
d) Question 5c 1979.(Evaluation). A & B: 48%; C: 26%; D & E: 26%
e) Question 7a 1979. (course design document) A & B: 60%; C: 10%; D&E: 30%
Question 7b 1979. (records of implementation). A & B: 37%; C: 5%; D & E: 58%
Question 7c 1979. (evaluation report). A & B: 80%; C: 0%; D & E: 20%
f) Question 12a 1980 (course design document). A & B: 64%; C: 28%; C:-8%
Question 12b 1980. (records of implementation). A & B: 64%; C: 28%; D & E: 8%
g) Question 12c 1980. (evaluation report). A & B: 92%; C: 8%; C & E: 0%

What is important about this is that the 'evaluation report' had come, by the end of the second year, to be the most important element of the investigation in the students' perceptions. This was evidenced in the general comments at the end of the questionnaires, where students were invited to give their own opinions. During the first two years of PS 180, each of the above three aspects had been attributed equal value, if one estimates this according to the grades allotted. In discussions with tutors of the 1980 sample, it was evident that they also were increasingly unhappy with that situation and were proposing changes in emphasis. No doubt the move towards changing the, by then, established pattern was reflexive in nature, with tutors expressing their misgivings on the one hand and students expressing their concern on the other, the former possibly the more influential. But what these changes imply is that the 'evaluation report' was probably seen as the most academically respectable and the most intellectually stimulating of the three assignments. It was evidently felt that it was here that the quality of student work was most likely to be identified, and the students no doubt felt that it most nearly matched their expectation of Honours work. Yet this quality is rooted in traditionally based perceptions of academic respectability. What is more, the evaluation aspect of the investigation is more closely linked with notions of research which, I have already suggested, has moved from its nineteenth century connotation of involving practical rather than theoretical skills, to become an accepted and integral part of higher educational activity, with a high status connotation.

This search for academic respectability for PS 180 then had significant results. The emphasis of the course, by the end of the second year, was moving increasingly away from the learning of professional skills.

As has been suggested,

> "An additional problem which colleges face in their efforts to teach professional skills is that both insiders and outsiders, especially validating bodies suspect the academic quality of professional studies courses."[20]

One suspects that, amongst tutors certainly, attitudes of this order were in fact growing. As McNamara and Desforges point out,"... where performance in professional studies counts towards the degree ... elements of theory must be attached to Professional Studies."[21]

It could be argued that PS 180 was increasingly coming to fall within the constraints of a scientific, evaluation framework. This step towards emphasising the evaluation aspect suggests this. Theory then, developed within a particular intellectual context, i.e. curriculum research and more specifically evaluation, comes to constrain the Professional Studies Credit, as well as the students' activities in the classroom. There is little doubt that, particularly among the 1979 student sample, and a proportion of the 1980 student sample, such constraints seemed inappropriate and even irrelevant to the things that often really mattered to students, which was teacher-pupil interaction and control in the classroom. Thus the emphasis of this Professional Studies Credit had moved, it can be claimed, some way from its practical emphasis and from a desire to respond to students' needs, to an attempt to satisfy the C.N.A.A. validators. As for the C.N.A.A. validators, while 'demanding' this practical component with the Honours course, they were less than satisfied with it, if it did not display academic quality.

It can also be argued that the growth of evaluation exercises in educational circles may well be part of the overall accountability movement which was gathering momentum during the seventies and characteristic

of the Taylor Report. If we accept that, in general terms, accountability in schools results from pressures on those schools 'to maximise productivity',[22] then it is not difficult to see that the underlying perceptions of the evaluation aspect of the students' investigations have their roots in similar kinds of thinking. The students are being asked to perceive their tasks in terms of how effective they have been, to measure the effectiveness of their activity in the schools and to perceive ways in which improvements could be made. In this sense then, it can be hypothesised that evaluation is part of the accountability orientation, emphasising the trend towards perceiving education as an essentially measurable activity. This has its roots in an altogether different perception of education, I would argue, one underpinned by a technocratic rather than an élitist ideology. It suggests that, not only is educational activity measurable, but that it is capable in this way of identifying what is worthwhile . At the same time this, it can be argued, is a shift towards growing material and technocratic emphases in wider society..

A progressive orientation interwoven with élitist notions, with regard to methods employed on the P.S. Credit is apparent although, as I have suggested, certain economic factors were influential too. The methods employed can be said to be significant of the underlying thinking of those who implement an educational course and, in this sense, are influential. for much learning takes place implicitly. The individual investigation seemed to be liked by students and the tutorial method was well perceived as the most appropriate method,[a] reflecting traditional perceptions of high status learning. Nevertheless, there was some feeling amongst students that group sessions as well would have enabled them to share experiences and ideas, especially amongst the 1980

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a) Question 8d 1979. A & B: 85%; C: 10%; D & E: 5%
Question 13d 1980. A & B: 83%; C: 13%; D & E: 4%

sample.[a] They would also have liked some lectures and discussion[b] to provide a foundation for the theoretical base of the investigation. There was one noticeable discrepancy between the two samples. This was to be found among the 1979 sample who would have liked a greater emphasis on more practical aspects, such as work with equipment. This was seen to be undesirable, however, by a considerable number of the 1980 sample (42%)[c]. It is probable that this wish of the 1979 sample to do more practical activities was a reaction to their experience and subsequent dissatisfaction with PS 180. But also they perceived the content of Professional Studies to be what its name implies, concerned with classroom activities. However, overall it seems that individual investigations aided by tutorials, equated in the students' minds with Honours level work, thus confirming in their minds traditional perceptions of acceptable academic quality. Connotations of the older universities' tutorial system served no doubt as a legitimating factor, here.

Certainly, as far as the whole Credit was concerned, the greater satisfaction to be found amongst the 1980 sample reinforces yet again, as has already been suggested, the notion that tutors had, by that time, adequately absorbed the values of the original core group of tutors based at College M. This had enabled a degree of standardisation to develop over the three sites and ensured a certain clarity over procedures. The values attached to PS 180, by this core group of

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a) Question 8c 1979. A & B: 40%; C: 25%: D & E: 35%
Question 13c 1980. A & B: 68%; C: 24%; C & E: 8%

b) Question 8a 1979. A & B: 43%; C: 48%: D & E: 9%
Question 13a 1980. A &B: 44%; C: 40%; D & E : 16%

c) Question 8e 1979. A & B: 63%; C: 21%; D & E: 16%
Question 13e 1980. A & B: 37.5%; C: 21%; D & E: 41.7%

tutors, appeared to have been fairly well absorbed and propagated by the second year and had been generally accepted. This of course did not mean that there were no dissentions. Ideological underpinning rarely takes on one exclusive form,[23] as can be discerned from the students' and tutors' responses.

The practical-theoretical dichotomy emerged once again when students were asked about the relationship of Professional Studies with other areas of work. C.N.A.A. policy involves the perception of the B.Ed. degree as

> "... an integrated coherent whole in which the academic, professional and practical elements interact and are not treated as discrete parts of the course."[24]

Certainly this refers to the first degree but it is evident that links were perceived as necessary into the Honours year. PS 180 was one part of the overall four year degree course, 25% of the Honours year, and the nature of PS 180 involved students drawing on their strength in main subject, Education Studies or earlier Professional Studies work. The students themselves, particularly those in the 1980 sample, perceived a close relationship between teaching practice in schools and PS 180.[a)] While the 1979 sample were not asked specifically about teaching practice nevertheless a number of students raised the notion of teaching practice as helpful to PS 180 work. This seems to suggest, that in their view, as might be expected, PS 180 was firmly rooted in school based activity and that this was important. But PS 180 was also seen to be linked to some extent with their main subject work. Amongst the 1980 sample at least links with main subject figured significantly.[b)]

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a) Question 14d 1980 (Teaching Practice). A & B: 100%; C: 0%; D & E: 0%
b) Question 14c 1980 (Main Subject). A & B: 72%; C: 8%; D & E: 20%

For the 1979 sample, however, firmer ties were made with earlier professional studies work,[a] and the notion of a relationship between main subject, or between Education Studies and PS 180 was greeted with much less enthusiasm.[b] What is evident from this is that students perceived PS 180 as having varying degrees of emphasis. For some there were firm links with main subject, for others with the theoretical Education Studies comprising sociology, psychology, philosophy and history of education. For most there was a close relationship with school based work. PS 180 seems then to be both a theoretical and practical activity in the students' minds, if we assume that main subject work and Education Studies have a theoretical emphasis.

There is little doubt that C.N.A.A. guidelines were highly influential in the development of the network situation of PS 180, with its close ties with school-based work, main subject and Education Studies. At the same time one needs to remember that the'individual study' was developed very much as part of an overall economic strategy to use the resources of the College as they stood. Any form of taught course in this situation was not viable with the existing tutor-student ratio. At the same time, the research orientation of the individual study had the good fortune to provide a legitimating function in its intimations of 'academicism', 'suited' to Honours level work.

For the most part the 1980 sample of students recognised the importance of PS 180, believing that its weighting within the fourth year course

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a) Question 12a 1979 (Professional Studies) A &B: 64%; C: 26%; D & E: 10%

b) Question 12b 1979 (Education Studies). A & B: 37%; C: 37%; D & E: 26%
Question 12c 1979 (Main Subject). A & B: 40%; C: 25%; D & E: 35%

was just about right although they were not over enthusiastic.[a] The 1979 sample, on the other hand, reacted to PS 180 in a manner, which might have been anticipated. They would clearly have liked less time to be spent on this area of work.[b] There is little doubt that, at the end of the first year of the Credit, the tutors had failed to justify the importance of the Professional Studies work and there was some feeling that Honours level quality had remained somewhat elusive throughout.

Perceptions of Professional Studies as a 'normal' and 'natural' part of a B.Ed. Honours course (1980 sample)

By 1980 certainly the students at least seemed to have absorbed effectively the notion of 'suitability' for Honours degree work, in relation to the content and method of PS 180. The development of skills of 'evaluation' and the need to explore the relationship between theory and practice, for example, were seen as perfectly legitimate objectives and tasks. What is more, it was perceived that, overall, the course had been effective in putting over such skills and implementing and achieving such objectives. By that point they had come to be seen as 'normal' activities, but one cannot help reflecting that, had the concept of 'evaluation' been introduced some ten years earlier, it is unlikely that it would have been accepted so readily as the major focus of an important element of a B.Ed. Honours degree course. This draws attention to the changing educational, social and political context, in which this Credit was implemented, for explanations of this change of attitude.

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a) Question 16 1980. A & B: 24%; C: 56%; D & E: 20%
b) Question 14 1979. A & B: 15%; C: 25%; D & E: 60%

As far as the methods and activities were concerned, it was evident that students were committed to the idea of an individual investigation, which had very largely been accepted as perfectly normal and appropriate. Discussions with the tutor were also considered to be suitable and proper methods of help and tuition. As has already been suggested, these notions of an individual investigation and individual tuition in many ways served to establish the authority of the course, in the sense that they hold connotations of academic respectability. They imply that work of an academic nature is being carried out at a satisfactory academic level for Honours degree work and in a satisfactory academic climate. Additionally, as already argued, evaluation as an object of Honours study can in fact be seen, arguably, as part of the growing technocratic rationality in education, inasmuch as it is an attempt to examine the effectiveness of a particular course which is being taught. The implicit message of the Credit was that each student should be equipped with such a skill, so that he or she in turn may judge the effectiveness of his/her courses, once in schools. In many ways then, a 'market effectiveness' perception of education was being transmitted, in response to increasing social pressures for efficiency in education. What this, of course, does is to make only those things which can be measured important in education, to the detriment of other less concrete elements.

There was little serious criticism by the 1980 students, of the fact that the Professional Studies Credit occupied 25% of the Honours course. While they were not enthusiastic about the amount of time allotted to the Credit, there were not many who rejected it either.[a)] Much greater

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a) Question 16 1980. A & B: 24%; C: 56%; D & E: 20%

discontent had been registered amongst the 1979 sample.[a] One has to remember however that the dissatisfaction amongst the 1979 sample may well have been related to the fact that discontent in that year had been channelled, or so I have argued, into the question of time. Professional Studies work appeared to them to have taken more than its fair share of time, so this no doubt influenced to some degree the 1979 sample's response to this question.

I would argue that comments on the questionnaires revealed a different quality of response between the 1979 and 1980 groups. Questions (1979 sample) were raised about the need for PS 180 to be more practically based. Students, it was felt, for example, 'should have been more actively involved in teaching'.[b] Work needed 'to be far more realistic and practical to teachers'.[c] The Credit should have set out 'to develop teaching ability, to understand the barriers to learning and to develop teaching skills'.[d] Work was 'too much based on academic theory'.[e] The practical nature of PS 180 also provided the focus of criticisms from the 1980 sample, but the comments were somewhat different. They were concerned with implementation problems, with what might be termed the minor technicalities related to the running of the Credit. There was a need to 'choose a suitable school'.[f] There should have been 'more consideration for schools', with 'a need to get teachers, tutors and students together to discuss.[g] Others

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a) Question 14 1979. A & B: 15%; C: 25%; D & E: 60%
b) Question 11 1979: Student (French) 6.
c) Question 11 1979: Student (Home Economics) 7.
d) Question 11 1979: Student (History) 2.
e) Question 15 1979: Student (History) 2.
f) Question 9 1980: Student (Home Economics) 2.
g) Question 9 1980: Dress and Textiles student, 5.

displayed a more detailed and critical approach to this question. The course might have sought 'to gain understanding of pupil differences'[a] and 'to develop an increasingly self critical approach to one's teaching'[b]. Others perceived that PS 180 could have been a different kind of course, that it might have provided an 'opportunity to pursue an area of personal interest, which may not otherwise be possible in school',[c] or to undertake a form of 'independent study'.[d] There was a growing awareness of the need to question everyday assumptions about education. For instance, it was felt, there could have been an opportunity to develop 'an open and sympathetic outlet to society and its needs today' and 'a greater understanding of the existing teaching environment',[e] while, at a more personal level, another student thought that the Credit could have sought 'to develop an increasingly self-critical approach to one's teaching'.[f]

Despite these thoughtful comments, by 1980 the tenor of the criticisms had become more mild and less obviously rancorous and they had become more clearly contained within the parameters of legitimate discussion. PS 180 was accepted on the whole, as it stood, with only relatively minor dissentions more concerned with the effectiveness of the course in teaching the skills of evaluation.[g] In almost all aspects, the 1979 sample registered greater dissatisfaction than the 1980 sample, (i.e., registered in the D & E columns, where this was appropriate).

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a) Question 9 1980: Student (Home Economics) 7.
b) Question 9 1980: Student (Mathematics) 22.
c) Question 9 1980: Student (Physical Education) 13.
d) Question 9 1980: Student (Mathematics) 18.
e) Question 9 1980: Student (Art : textiles) 16.
f) Question 9 1980: Student (Mathematics) 22.
g) Question E 1980:A &B: 36%; C: 32%; D & E: 32%
Question 10Ca 1980: A & B: 50%; C: 25%; D & E: 25%

Within one year a significant change had occurred in attitudes towards, and the questioning of, the Credit. By 1980 Professional Studies was accepted very largely as a normal and natural part of a B.Ed. Honours degree course. This naturalising process is a most important mechanism as, for example, Burton and Carlen have pointed out, and it had been executed by a variety of tactics, such as making possible alternatives appear unrealistic or ridiculous, and developing the context within which thought can develop. These and other tactics have been already identified and discussed. The normalising process is an essential element in ensuring the acceptance of certain activities and procedures, and worked well and relatively quickly in the case of PS 180.

As already suggested, criticism of PS 180 had not only become less, but it had also come to be of a different quality. A shift in the focus of criticism by students had clearly taken place by 1980. Attitudes among the 1979 sample showed considerably more dissatisfaction with the objectives and effectiveness of the course in achieving these objectives. This suggested a dissatisfaction with the content of the Credit. Amongst the 1980 sample focus on the whole had come to be much more upon the smaller detailed elements of the course, on the technicalities of implementation. Particularly noticeable for example, were the difficulties in co-ordination between tutors, schools and students, problems over the placement of students in the schools, all of which might be termed the practical difficulties of implementation.

Nevertheless, even amongst the 1980 sample, there was some polarisation of views between those who had found the content and methods very worthwhile and those who had not. Certainly, while a large number felt

the Credit had achieved its aims a significant, if smaller, number as has been seen were much less satisfied.[a] In informal discussion with the 1980 sample it appeared that quite a number of students wanted to spend more time on main subject work. Certainly PS 180 provided an opportunity for this, should the student so wish, but as the focus for PS 180, main subject work would have involved a more applied aspect of such work. For these students, 'traditional', élitist values about education persisted quite strongly. But ambivalent attitudes were visible, especially amongst those of the 1980 sample, who perceived that the emphasis of PS 180 was on the practical and applied nature of the course. While no question on the questionnaire asked about the research element and therefore it is perhaps unwise to conclude too much from this item, nevertheless it was on the Teaching Practice element, not main subject, or Educational Studies, that the emphasis rested for those students. What I am suggesting is that the latter two subject areas might be more nearly considered theoretically based work and that it was the practical, rather than the theoretical orientation which seemed to have been the one most clearly transmitted to the students (1980). Even among the 1979 sample it was generally speaking the more practically based Professional Studies in the first three years, which they believed had provided the most valuable foundation for PS 180. Whether the emphasis given by the 1979 sample, to the value of Professional Studies in the first three years, was because of the omission of Teaching Practice as an alternative on the questionnaire, it is difficult to say. But there was certainly a

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a) Question 7E 1980. A & B: 36%; C: 40%; D & E: 24%
Question 8E 1980. A & B: 36%; C: 32%; D & E: 32%
Question 10Ca 1980. A & B: 50%; C: 25%; D & E: 25%

difference between the responses of the two groups in this regard.[a] Students in the 1979 sample had perceived the Honours Professional Studies course much more in terms of a continuation of their earlier Professional Studies work. This suggests that PS 180 was perceived by the 1979 students, and at least by a number of tutors, in terms of learning and experiencing teaching skills in the classroom, a practical activity.

By the second year of implementation bearing in mind that many of what were deemed unsatisfactory aspects of the first year has been dealt with, certain tendencies were apparent. Firstly, as already discussed, there was clearly an emphasis on school-based work as a firm foundation for PS 180, but there was at the same time a shift, however slight, in the 1980 student perceptions towards a more theoretical emphasis. This, I would argue, is visible partly in the way that main subject work was coming to be perceived as a valuable foundation for PS 180,[b] and even Education Studies[c]. Partly this could also be accounted for by the imposing, throughout the three sites, of a more uniform philosophy of PS 180, which increasingly stressed the evaluation part of the student work.

Three sites

Both College M and College P were voluntary colleges. Each had a long established reputation in teacher education, the former in the primary,

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a) Question 12A 1979 (Professional Studies) A & B: 64%, C: 26%; D & E: 10%
Question 14A 1980 (Professional Studies) A & B: 52%; C: 32%; D & E: 16%

b) Question 12C 1979 (Main Subject) A & B: 40%; C: 25%; D & E: 35%
Question 14C 1980 (Main Subject) A & B: 72%; C: 8%; D & E: 20%

c) Question 12B 1979 (Education Studies) A & B: 37%; C: 37%; D & E: 26%
Question 14B 1980 (Education Studies) A & B: 48%; C: 28%; D & E: 24%

the latter in the secondary field. College P was involved predominantly with male students and had a long tradition of work in P.E., although a minority of other subjects was also available. By contrast, a variety of main subjects was offered at College M, which had a tradition of coeducational work in the training and education of primary teachers. Both Colleges prided themselves on their professional work. College G was on the other hand a maintained college. It was involved with teacher education in the traditionally female orientated area of Home Economics and students were geared towards teaching in the secondary field. In 1980 College G was closed and a new College was formed by the amalgamation of Colleges M and P.

It is not surprising that there were certain differences in response between these three sites. While analysis of the whole 1979

sample suggests that earlier work in Professional Studies had been found valuable, when divided into the three site groups only College P[a)] and College M.[b)] did so. In these cases, it can be argued that the philosophy of the Ordinary and Honours degree courses had provided some continuity. For those at College G.,[c)] main subject work was seen as equally valuable. This no doubt reflected the strong main subject, that is Home Economics, orientation of the students at College G. It is difficult however to draw absolute conclusions from this since, while College G. was almost exclusively Home Economics based, College P. was also specialist, being very largely Physical Education based, but responses did not exhibit similar characteristics. It is more likely that the variations in response reflected differences in the philosophy and tutors' 'understanding' of the Credit on the three sites. There had been intimations by the core group of tutors that tutors at College G., in the first year of implementation, had not perceived PS 180 in the way that College M., and even College P. tutors had done. The essence of the argument was that there had been too little emphasis on evaluation and too strong an emphasis on developing professional expertise, often rooted in Home Economics. Furthermore attention had been drawn by the core group to discrepancies in qualifications and educational backgrounds, to be found amongst tutors on the three sites. This was clearly an area of tension, and some tutors felt extremely vulnerable and 'threatened' in this respect.

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a) Question 12A(P) 1979. (Professional Studies) A & B: 67%; C:33%;D & E: 0%
Question 12C(P) 1979. (Main Subject) A & B: 33.2%; C: 16.6%; D & E: 50%

b) Question 12A(M) 1979.(Professional Studies) A & B: 87.5%;C:12.5%; D & E: 50%
Question 12C(M) 1979. (Main Subject) A & B: 25%; C: 25%; D & E: 50%

c) Question 12A(G) 1979. (Professional Studies) A & B: 40%; C: 40%; D & E: 20%
Question 12C(G) 1979. (Main Subject) A & B: 40%; C: 40%; D & E: 20%

Amongst the 1980 sample, earlier Teaching Practice was perceived by students on all sites as an exceptionally valuable foundation for PS 180. Beyond that however main subject work was seen as very valuable amongst the students at Colleges G. and P., rather less so at College M.[a)] This latter response might well have its roots in the fact that College M., with its predominantly primary school orientation, was involved with a number of main subject areas. Main subject tutors then, belonging to a larger number of small departments, were unlikely to hold such a strong position, vis-à-vis Honours Professional Studies and may well therefore have found it difficult to impose their ideas and influence on PS 180.

1979/1980 samples: Summary

1979 sample

To sum up then, the criticisms emerging from the 1979 sample, it can be argued, were of a different quality from those of the 1980 students. The earlier group was critical overall of the Credit in a more fundamental sense. As we have already seen, it was criticised by one student for being 'too much based on academic theory',[b)] and by another who had expected fourth year B.Ed. Honours work 'to be concerned with an emphasis on intellectual content'[c)]

A second range of criticisms, amongst the 1979 sample, reflected, as we have seen, the overall uncertainty that accompanied the first year's

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a) Question 14C(G) 1980(Main subject). A & B: 75%; C: 25%; D & E: 0%
Question 14C(P) 1980(Main subject). A & B: 89%; C: 0%; D & E: 11%
Question 14C(M) 1980 (Main subject) A & B: 50%; C: 0%; D & E: 50%

b) 1979 student: College M.; English - primary, 2.

c) 1979 student: College P.; French - secondary, 6.

implementation: 'undirectional at the beginning' and 'different tutors held different interpretations'[a] were typical comments. 'All unsure of what was required',[b] 'more guidance needed in choosing a study' and 'what is wanted should be more clearly set out'[c] were further comments. 'The kind of work required was not made clear'[d] was again a comment which reflected the concern felt by a number of 1979 students.

Other criticisms by the 1979 group,as we have seen,were founded upon the notion of 'time' which,I have suggested,served as an acceptable theme into which dissatisfaction could be channelled. By so doing, unacceptable criticisms, such as questioning tutors' performance or criticising the content of the Credit could be deflected although, certainly, alongside this there were undoubtedly a number of spontaneous criticisms of the time factor. PS 180 it was argued, 'occupied too much time in relation to its weighting'[e]; 'a quarter of the time would have been enough. In fact it took far longer. Vast quantities of material/were required'[f]. It was evident that, in quite a number of cases, PS 180 had involved a large amount of work, sometimes welcome, sometimes not. But it can be assumed that the 'channelling' contributed to the quantity of criticisms by students, related to the time factor. I would argue that these criticisms were, on the whole, of a more radical nature than those evoked by the 1980 sample. It can be argued that the 1979 students were more concerned with a criticism

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a) 1979 student: College G.; Home Economics - secondary, 3.
b) 1979 student: College G., Home Economics - secondary, 7.
c) 1979 student: College M.; Geography - primary, 12.
d) 1979 student: College M.; Textiles - primary, 15.
e) 1979 student: College G.; Home Economics - secondary, 13.
f) 1979 student: College M.; Textiles - primary, 15.

of the fundamental basis of PS 180, whether it should be more, or less, academic or practical. Once implemented, it was evident to the students that the philosophy of the course had not, either equally or thoroughly, permeated through to all the tutors involved with the Credit, and hence to all the students. Consequently there was uncertainty amongst the 1979 sample, as to whether they were experiencing the Credit effectively, as well.

1980 sample

Criticisms emerging from the 1980 sample were of a somewhat different nature and revolved much more around the level of the practical application of PS 180, i.e. concerned with the implementation of the Credit in schools. It was felt that it was important for example 'to choose a suitable school' for the project,[a] that 'opportunities for additional teaching in school should be available'[b]. 'More consideration for schools' and a 'need to get teachers, tutors and students together to discuss'[c] were also perceived as important changes or re-emphases, which needed to be made.

Nevertheless all criticisms were not in this vein. There were changes that certain students would have liked to make, which were related more directly to the content of the course. One student would have enjoyed 'the opportunity to pursue an area of personal 'interest', which may not otherwise be possible in school'[d]. Another would have

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a) 1980 student: College G.; Home Economics - secondary, 2.
b) 1980 student: College G.; Home Economics - secondary, 3.
c) 1980 student: College G.; Textiles/Art - secondary, 5.
d) 1980 student: College P., Physical Education - secondary, 13.

liked to have undertaken an independent study[a)], while a third would have preferred the Credit 'to develop methods of assessing pupils' work'[b)]. A preference was expressed by one student for the Credit P.S. 180 to help students 'gain an understanding of pupil differences'[c)], and another for it to provide an opportunity 'to develop specific areas of teaching a subject'.[d)] While these comments were somewhat more reflective, the potential for such activity was to be found within the range of options available in PS 180. After all, PS 180 provided an opportunity to extend work of a personal interest even if the freedom of choice aspired to was not fully available. Quite a wide range of choices was available, but they were not unlimited. To develop methods of assessing pupils' work, and to understand more about pupil differences, were tasks potentially well within the range of work carried out in the existing PS 180. What is important here however is that these ideas did not involve any serious questioning of PS 180 or any radical notions about what PS 180 might be, or of the fact that 25% of the Honours course was in fact devoted to Professional Studies rather than a more 'academically' based Credit. School based work was an accepted feature of the Honours course, in the view of these 1980 students.

Another range of criticisms, although fewer, was in similar vein although much more original and critical. One student felt that the course should 'develop an open and sympathetic outlet to society and its needs today'[e)]. It was also felt that there should be attempts to

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a) 1980 student: College P., Mathematics - secondary, 18.
b) 1980 student: College G.; Home Economics - secondary, 6.
c) 1980 student: College G.; Home Economics - secondary, 7.
d) 1980 student: College P.; Physical Education - secondary, 13.
e) 1980 student: College M.; Art/Textiles - middle school, 16.

get greater understanding of the existing teaching environment,[a] while another believed that it was important 'to develop an increasingly self-critical approach to one's teaching'.[b] Reasons for these additional or alternative aims were not explicitly given, but one perceives that the themes they suggested reflect a more questioning approach to teaching and education than perhaps the Credit enabled them to undertake. I would argue that in essence these comments were much more attempts to get beyond 'taken-for-granted' assumptions about education, which, arguably, underpin many of the existing topics from which the student was able to choose.

Looking at these responses from a slightly different perspective however, one can discern two 'levels' of criticism among the 1980 sample. Firstly there were those who accepted the given aims, or saw the need for changes by simply suggesting additional aims for PS 180, which included basic practical adaptations and alternatives. Others, albeit fewer, would have liked to have seen different aims, replacing the existing ones. Examples included 'the development of methods of assessing pupils' work, or 'gaining an understanding of pupil differences'. In the sense that there was an acceptance of school-based work in the Honours year, both sets of criticism were not so radical as some of those in the 1979 sample, which questioned the practical-theoretical dimension of a portion of an Honours year course. But there was a second level of criticism, even among the 1980 sample, notable in comments, such as the one suggesting that the experience should relate much more to

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a) 1980 student, College M.; Art/Textiles - middle school, 16.
b) 1980 student: College M.; Mathematics - primary, 22.

contemporary social needs.[a] While not quantitatively forceful, it can be argued, these were reflective and revealing comments.

Asked about general criticisms of PS 180, as opposed to reflecting on the aims alone, there were also some interesting pointers. Again these comments tended to fall into different categories, the first concerned with the practical application of the course and the second, related to the nature of PS 180 and involving more critical perceptions. Firstly, at the level of practical application, it was felt that an introduction to the individual school would have been more useful before presenting the planning document.[b] It was also thought that students should have been allocated to schools earlier 'to help with the planning document', and that a list of schools should have been ready for the students.[c] These problems stemmed from basic difficulties inherent in the nature of the course. Tensions are likely to arise, for example, where institutions of a different nature, i.e. colleges and schools, are required to work together. Such a course involved the co-operation and knowledge of more than one institution, each institution comprising individuals, between whom there was likely to be some tension, particularly noticeable, for example, at the Headteacher's meeting prior to the implementation of PS 180. Teachers and lecturers clearly have different objectives, expectations, commitments and it is evident that these factors are bound to have impact on students' work.

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a) 1980 student: College M.; Art - middle school, 16.
b) 1980 student: College M.; English - junior, 10.
c) 1980 student: College M.; English - primary, 15.

These comments tended to spill over into the question of time , as with the 1979 sample. For example while it was felt, on the one hand, quite simply that allocation to schools 'should be more organised and earlier sorted out',[a] others believed more positively that 'school placement should be obtained as soon as possible so that PS 180 was forced to dictate and consume the whole of the course'.[b] This theme was taken up by other students. In this second category of comments, certain more evaluative judgements tended to come through. A good deal of time, it appeared, had had to be allocated by students to the work of PS 180. However, while the Credit was felt to be 'very time-consuming', it was nevertheless seen by some as 'exceptionally valuable', although it tended to be 'anxiety inducing, imposing its presence on the whole of the fourth year'[c]. This same student also believed that 'more time was required on the planning part' and that there needed to be 'a longer introduction to the individual school'. More specifically, not only was PS 180 seen as valuable but it was believed that it should be given greater emphasis within the Honours year course.[d] One student went further, arguing that it would have been more satisfactory if PS 180 had been the only course taken in the fourth year B.Ed. Honours year.[e] This same student thought it had to be a very time-consuming Credit especially if it was to be 'properly conducted' and it was suggested that some of the time which had been allocated to other courses could be lessened to make this extra time available.

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a) 1980 student: College P.; Physical Education - secondary, 13.
b) 1980 student: College P.; Geography - secondary, 23.
c) 1980 student: College M.; English - junior,10.
d) 1980 student: College M.; English - middle school, 21.
e) 1980 student: College M.; English - middle school, 21.

But opposite views were also held. The workload of PS 180 was seen as detrimental to other courses, [a] this last criticism, suggesting perhaps a very different value orientation from that held by the former students. The former perceptions suggest that while PS 180 took a great deal of time, this work could be central to the whole fourth year, while the latter clearly regretted the PS 180's 'sorties' into other aspects of the whole fourth year Honours course. It can be argued that the former group perceived a 'practically' orientated Credit as a viable and suitable basis for Honours degree work, even to the extent of incorporating, in some way, all of the fourth year work. The latter, rejected the 'practically based Credit, which appeared to be flourishing at the expense of what was apparently more 'suitable' theoretical work to be found in the other Credits, i.e. Education Studies, main subject. Such assumptions about a 'practically' based individual investigation reflected the high or low value held by those students. What is important is that one suspects that the remaining students also held similar values, to each of the above, with a resultant polarisation of attitudes. It can be argued that student responses, on the one hand, were rooted in deeply held beliefs about what Honours degree level work entails. Traditional assumptions were held about the nature of advanced level work with its 'academic' bias. But at the same time so few of the 1980 sample seriously questioned the Credit 'per se' with its 'practically' based orientation. By 1980 students had very thoroughly internalised the newer values, accepting the notion that theoretical work should be displaced to some extent. This is perhaps all the more surprising since, added to this, the students had completed their 'professional training and this could

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a) 1980 student: College P.; Geography, 23.

therefore not be the justification for including a practically based Credit. This theoretical - practical dichotomy continued to make itself felt up to the end of 1980 at least.

General comments about changes which might be made subsequently tended, it can be suggested, to point to problem areas which students had encountered. Firstly there were, as has already been discussed, problems related to the extensiveness of the work involved in such a course. There was concern with the 'heavy weighting of the assignment'.[a] Comments pointed to ways in which work could be streamlined and the workload lightened. 'PS 180 should be completed by the end of the second term. Perhaps the records of implementation and evaluation documents could become a single document'[b]. This was clearly an issue being considered by tutors at the end of the second year (1980). A second problem area, as has been seen, was to be found in the school-based nature of the Credit. One student argued that PS 180 made '... no attempt to relate to any other school situation.[c] Areas of tension were created around the term 'heightened teaching', a term which was much used among tutors and to be found in the planning documents. It was seen as misleading and causing '... resentment in teachers in schools'.[d] It was '... a barrier in carrying out the investigation'.[e] Such problems clearly revolved around the factor that the students remained as such in relation to college and tutors. To teachers in schools however, they were qualified teachers. Problems tended to arise because they were involved in an activity which teachers could have coped with, had they felt in a superior

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a) 1980 student: College P.; Physical Education - secondary, 13.
b) 1980 student: College P.; Geography - secondary, 17.
c) 1980 student: College G.; Home Economics - secondary, 17,2.
d) 1980 student: College G.; Home Economics - secondary, 17, 11.
e) 1980 student: College G.; Home Economics - secondary, 17, 11.

position to the 'student'. In the event the 'students' were on the one hand, qualified teachers, and on the other, closer akin to researchers, creating a much more threatening situation for teachers. The term 'heightened teaching' reflected this dilemma. A third problem area remained noticeable in relation to the uncertainty about PS 180. One student perhaps summed up the situation for a number of participants of the Credit over the first two years: 'Although many people have found it difficult, I think that one should stick with the same basic structure and not change every year - at least lecturers will know what they want and agree among themselves'[a)]. The final element of this comment then points to difficulties, still existing at the end of the second year's implementation, stemming from the lack of clear co-ordination between tutors concerning what was required by the Credit PS 180.

What seems to be emerging then is that, very largely, by 1980, the level of student comments, both specifically in relation to aims and the general implementation of the course, were overall increasingly receptive to, and satisfied with, the nature of PS 180. It was seen as an appropriate Credit within the fourth year B.Ed. Honours degree course, despite its 'practical' bias which, it can be suggested, lies outside the range of ideas and activities traditionally associated with high status academic work. Yet students clearly held assumptions concerning 'practical' and 'academic' or 'abstract' thought. Arguably however, the growing acceptance manifested itself in the sense that PS 180 had justified itself as an 'academic' course by means of the central curriculum evaluation theme. Thus in this way, the firmly

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a) 1980 student: College M.; Art - middle school, 16.

rooted traditional assumptions about high status work still held good. Surprisingly perhaps, amongst the 1979 sample there were those who would have liked simply further experience in schools. There is no evidence to suggest that this was the case amongst the 1980 sample. Their acceptance of the Credit appears to rest on the quality of the evaluation work demanded by tutors. Certainly there appears to be no demand for simply further experience in schools as such.

Content of PS 180

Two factors are noticeable about the project work involved in PS 180. Firstly assumptions were clearly held, in the planning of the Credit, about the importance of scientific rationality in relation to the evaluation aspect of the project. Techniques for the purposes of evaluation were developed around beliefs that educational phenomena are essentially measurable. It is noticeable that one of the chief criticisms by the core group of tutors of the 1979 sample was that a number of tutors, especially at College G., had not developed these skills effectively amongst their students. There were implications as already suggested, that the tutors' own educational experience had not involved them in this kind of'evaluative' activity. Thus, it was felt, those tutors had not espoused this philosophy so effectively. There is no doubt that hierarchical assumptions were being made, on the basis of a belief in the superiority of scientific rationality, concerning the proposed evaluation techniques, which students could use, when undertaking their projects. There is little doubt either that it was the evaluation theme, which justified the Credit in the 1980 students' minds. Thus, while practically based, it was the theoretical evaluation aspect which gave the Credit credence. Furthermore it is evident that the respectability of the

evaluation element rested on its use of scientifically based techniques. At once, students were both satisfied as to the Credit's academic respectability, while the high status of scientific rationality was being reinforced in students' minds.

It can be argued that, developing scientific evaluation techniques for the purpose of undertaking specific projects, reinforces culturally appropriate paradigms for working out problems. It is possible to suggest that 'the social world has already been appropriated,[25] and that this has happened 'by the glossing practices of its members'.[26] It has been '... pre-selected and pre-interpreted by its members in terms of the everyday talk and treatment by which they apprehend, display, and regularly confirm the events, actions and appearances within it'.[27] In these ways scientific rationality, I would argue, has come to be imposed on the minds of these Honours degree students as an appropriate underpinning to high status knowledge.

What I am suggesting is that the scientific approach to the project work showed that important assumptions concerning the superiority of scientific rationality were held and were likely to impinge effectively on students' minds. Yet this scientific or rational approach is 'a' perspective, not simply 'the' perspective. It is a view of the world not the sole harbinger of truth. But by means of this scientific ethos, the Credit was able to satisfy C.N.A.A., tutors and students with regard to its academic respectability. Judgements, resulting from such evaluations were likely to be seen in terms of knowledge superior to that of the layman[28] and thus to be rated as scientifically correct, as the 'real' truth. Traditional assumptions continued to hold good through the planning

and implementation of, and in the responses to, PS 180. The scientific paradigm established the context and the language within which the projects operated. Thus at the same time it was implied that educational phenomena are responsive to scientific or rational techniques. The use of questionnaires or statistical data makes assumptions that findings result from a superior approach to a problem, that it is capable of uncovering hidden meaning or underlying truths, while the approach of the layman or more subjective approaches are, by implication, inadequate and inferior. Such implicit notions are already shared to some extent by tutors and students alike, but the implications of their being built into Honours degree work means that they are thus reinforced still further.

It can be argued then that this acceptance of evaluation as central to PS 180 reflects the dominant underlying rationality in students' perceptions. This particular mode of rationality may be perceived

> "... in the increasing national support of competency-based systems of instruction, behaviouristic models of pedagogy, and the various versions of systems theory models in curriculum development and evaluation."[29]

Such rationality may be perceived as currently dominating educational theory and practice. The evaluation methods which the students are encouraged to employ and the projects themselves evoke a rationalistic perception of work of an appropriate 'academic' quality. Yet '... scientific method remains an unexamined resource for accounting the world..."[30] The author is speaking here of scientifically orientated sociology, but a case can be made for applying the criticism to a much wider range of social phenomena.

A second issue that can be raised here is that the list of projects, presented for students to choose from, tended to render the educational

issues involved 'non-problematic'. Yet education itself "... is a problematic and socially constructed category".[31] By focusing on ready-made problems there is an implication that educational issues are permanent, lying outside the social and economic context of the day. As already seen, however, there was some recognition of this shortcoming for example, by the student who believed that the Credit should develop 'an open and sympathetic outlet to society and its needs today'.[a)]

At the same time, it can be argued that problems, selected for students, are arrived at because they lend themselves to scientific method. Secondly, and more important, problems tend to be chosen from within a scientific or rationalistic context. I am not arguing that problems of this nature are necessarily inferior to other kinds of problems, but they raise a selection of issues which excludes those arising out of another, for example, perhaps more subjective context, thus narrrowing the range of enquiry or analysis for students to undertake. It seems in this respect that originality and true enquiry or research are not real possibilities. Speaking of sociology specifically, Walsh argues that scientific method is seen as "a set of context-free and hence objective procedures for capturing the underlying reality of the world."[32] He points out that any conceptual scheme seeks "to render some sort of approximation to what is actually out there in the world".[33] But in this case the approximation is seen to rest in the use of scientific method, of 'unchanging universal' categories, which are not affected by the circumstances of the observer.[34] The use of scientific method

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a) 1980 student: College M.; Art/Textiles - middle school, 16.

as a superior mechanism for seeking the truth suggests also that there is a separation between the real world and the subjective interpretation of it. And it is the former which the students are very largely encouraged to embrace. But, most importantly, it reinforces the orthodoxy of wider society.

The planning and implementation of PS 180 within the wider social and economic context

While I have attempted to examine the development of PS 180 within its wider social context as well as internally within the Colleges thus far, I have not especially drawn upon developments within education, as discerned for example in Government Reports and papers. It can be argued that the construction of PS 180 was a response to the 'reality' to be found in such Reports, although of course factors such as the earlier Black Papers and other influential criticisms must surely have had impact upon its design also. The influential Reports of the period, as far as PS 180 was concerned, are likely to have been the James Report,[35] the Bullock Report[36] and to some extent the Taylor Report.[37]

In broad terms the James Report[38] in the early part of the decade emphasised that teacher training should be closely linked with the needs of the school and to some extent, it can be argued, the planning and implementation of PS 180 reflects these notions. Yet it can be hypothesised that the preparation of the Credit was also a response to the growing dissatisfaction over teachers in schools which was crystallised to some extent in the Bullock Report. The dissatisfaction with the teaching profession voiced in that Report, the focusing on the school as well as the home,[39] as a source of inadequate standards of large sectors of the school population, emphasised the need for teachers to develop skills in the classroom. If PS 180 was not a response

to the growing concerns over educational standards which led to the execution of this Report directly, it was no doubt part of this general trend.

What I am arguing is that what is happening in higher education institutions can be more fully understood only if seen against the policy changes at 'the whole socio-economic conjuncture'.[40] How then does this Honours Credit originate and develop against the background of policy changes which have been established in my analyses of certain Government Reports? Where teacher training has been seen as inadequate, it is implied that it has become too remote from the schools. As already pointed out, the James Report recommends that teacher training should be more closely linked with the needs of the schools.[41] Certainly by 1975 it was concluded, in the Bullock Report, that teachers lacked the professional skills in teaching such things as reading, writing and number .[42]

The period of the planning of the Credit (1975-1977) however was also the beginning of the period of non-expansion in education which made itself felt shortly after the publication of the James Report, and which certainly was noticeable by the time of Bullock. Within the institution no extra staff were being considered for the implementation of this Honours course, which factor could be attributed to a need to cut back on expenditure. It was evident therefore that staff needed to involve themselves with more advanced work in curriculum development to help with the quality of work and relationships in the Honours Professional Studies Credit. The focus upon curriculum development by staff then could be seen, partially at least, as a means of coping with current staffing levels. The expense of up-grading educational levels among existing staff would in the long run prove cheaper than

employing new staff with more relevant qualifications. In any case redundancy of other staff might have been necessary in order to do so. And certainly there was going to be no question of carrying very small groups of students per tutor, on a taught course basis, in the various main subject areas. For example, a ratio of one to three for a taught course in History was perceived as non-viable. The alternative seen as viable for the Professional Studies Credit then was the individual project where tutors could cope with one or more students, according to students' choice and tutor availability.

As has already been discussed, these Reports and the events concerned with the planning and implementation of the Professional Studies course are related in broader terms, at yet another level, with the social, political and economic situation of wider society. Moves towards including school based work in the fourth year Honours course would almost certainly at one time have appeared inappropriate. However, after a decade of the increasing intellectualisation of Teacher Training courses, with their emphasis on the disciplines of sociology, psychology, philosophy and history, especially at Honours level, a move towards more school-based courses, particularly in the light of growing dissatisfaction with schooling, makes the introduction of PS 180 seem less surprising. It seemed that these moves towards upgrading the academic levels of teachers, which had been taking place in the late sixties and early seventies had been at the expense of practical classroom experience.

The implication of this, I would argue, is that in contemporary Britain, the role of education is in the process of being re-defined. At the same time '... the institutions of the education system are being re-structured

to achieve new goals and to fit new patterns of state expenditure.[43] In such a situation, there is strong likelihood that the role of teachers is being re-defined to fit these new perceptions. It is possible to suggest that these involve perceptions of an education which is more relevant to a de-skilled economic structure. Changing industrial patterns are likely to be accompanied by changes within education. But in the wider context there is yet another perspective. This course needs to be considered against the background of ideologies which, it is being argued, are in the process of being transformed in the broader economic and political climate. If we concern ourselves with ideologies about education, we can argue that

> "... debates about education form part of a general political discourse, that 'they are a regional instance of the process of bidding for the consent of the governed'."[44]

Working within this perspective, Finn et al[45] trace the rise and fall of the consensus which has dominated since the second world war. Consensus has been sustained, they believe, by the widespread belief that circumstances can be improved by the intervention of the state. However such intervention is expensive and clearly the economy must be such that it can pay the costs and be willing to pay the costs. Under such circumstances, if the economy is not expanding the financial resources are less widely available and this means of maintaining consensus tends to be weakened.

Clearly economic difficulties then have finally gone some way towards destroying the notion that an ever-expanding economy would 'foot the bill'. Social democratic solutions, such as those in education, e.g. equality of opportunity, are seen to "... have reached their necessary limits, or now involve, as in the case of Bullock's proposals , a quite disproportionate expenditure".[46] It was thus perceived that "some

new inflection had to be given to the social democratic ideology, some new combination of elements or some dramatic simplification",[47] At the same time there was a need also for new agencies of control as a consequence of this weakening of the social democratic hegemony. One of these new agencies of control, concerned with higher education, may be identified, I would argue, in the development of the Council for National Academic Awards, (C.N.A.A.). The rapidly expanding assertion of control by C.N.A.A., which clearly works within the framework established by the D.E.S., displays important and significant changes in the assumptions which are held. In relation to this study for example, pressure to include classroom experience, in the above way in the B.Ed. Honours year, is one of the means by which the importance of the practical teaching-learning situation can be imposed on the minds of teachers in training. In this way as well high status knowledge can be seen as no longer solely including traditional academic work. The point that I am making is that, as an agency of control, C.N.A.A. has the power to establish its ideas over a range of higher education establishments and that their philosophy for B.Ed. courses involves a much greater emphasis on the practice of teaching than hitherto.

The Council for National Academic Awards is closely linked to the growth of alternative forms of higher education and has its roots in its more vocational aspects. Between the wars courses, mainly in engineering and science, taking place in technical colleges and the early polytechnics led to examinations for external degrees of the University of London. However the much increased demand for higher education in the fifties, which the universities were unable to satisfy, meant that increasing numbers attended technical colleges and similar institutions.[47A] This situation was exacerbated by an increasing demand for educated technologists. By the mid-fifties, a new body for awarding

degrees, the National Council for Technological Awards, (N.C.T.A), was established. It was the N.C.T.A. which contained the seeds of what is now the C.N.A.A., although it had the power only to award diplomas and was concerned specifically with technological awards.

The demand for greater opportunities for higher education, and for advanced work to be extended to degree level outside the universities, grew in the 1960s and the Robbins Report[47B] indicated the need for expansion. Such work was to include study of the humanities and social studies as well as science and technology. To award this wider range of degrees, the Council for National Academic Awards was established replacing the N.C.T.A. in 1964. The establishment of thirty new polytechnics carrying out degree work outside the university sector pointed to the growing importance of the C.N.A.A. Although their work is vocationally oriented, the polytechnics have increasingly moved into the fields of the arts and the humanities[47C]. Indeed, by the end of the sixties the external University of London degrees had been, or were being, replaced by those of C.N.A.A.

A further growth area for C.N.A.A. took place in the mid-seventies with the establishment of Colleges and Institutes of Higher Education, offering a variety of degree work, thus also taking in the field of education. Indeed the C.N.A.A. itself was arguing in 1979 that

> "When re-organisation of the Colleges of Education is complete the CNAA will be responsible for the validation of approximately one half of the teacher education courses." [47D]

This is a significant statement in the light of my argument, concerning the growing centralisation and control of teacher education. It is not difficult to see that a central body like C.N.A.A., awarding degrees over a wide range of institutions is likely to lay down criteria, which ensure similarities rather than differences between courses and institutions.

With this power and influence it is understandable that it would be very difficult for the Colleges to mount any challenge to C.N.A.A.

As a body, C.N.A.A. clearly have a good deal of control over degree course planning. They tend to understate their role claiming, with regard to course approval, that the advantage of the C.N.A.A. system is that, once an institution has convinced the relevant authority of the national need for a given course, it is generally free to propose to the C.N.A.A. the format, curriculum and syllabuses for the course that the institution considers to be most appropriate.[48] Despite the liberal tone of the discourse, however, suggesting a good deal of freedom in the hands of the particular institution, it

is evident that the control C.N.A.A. exerts is much more rigid than implied here. With regard to PS 180 specifically, it appeared that there was a degree of inflexibility about what they prescribed as suitable for the B.Ed. Honours degree year. The Honours degree had to include school-based work.

The C.N.A.A. document also points out that "provided that the Council, through its relevant Board or Boards, is convinced that the standard of its awards will be maintained, it will approve (this) course".[49] (my brackets). But we know this is not so. Somewhere within the fourth year B.Ed. Honours course, there had to be school-based work. This was not a quibble over standards, but a concern with the nature of the B.Ed. Honours course. This is not the same thing. The document persists:

> "The Council is primarily concerned with the academic standard of courses and does not have pre-conceived ideas on curriculum or syllabus design".[50]

Additionally,

> "... courses which they (the colleges) subsequently teach are of their own design and not ones that have been imposed upon them".[51]

Experience with PS 180 as part of the B.Ed. Honours course in this particular institution does not bear out this optimistic assertion. We know very well that PS 180 was broadly imposed on the three colleges. Actual detailed planning of the PS 180 Credit was finally left to the colleges, but as has been seen, validation could not have been conferred had the Honours course not contained some form of school-based work. There is a lack of correspondence between what C.N.A.A. say and how the Council operates in practice. The progressive liberal discourse suggests that C.N.A.A. provides guidelines very loosely and only seeks to maintain standards. The progress of these colleges,

with regard to validation, provides us with a very different perspective and suggests a much more heavy-handed approach, which C.N.A.A. seem unprepared to admit to.

Thus the importance of the new agency of control, i.e. C.N.A.A., is that it brings with it changes in ideas about higher education, which it is in a position to impose. The significance of this particular shift in emphasis in the B.Ed. Honours degree course is that it displays a move away from accepted notions of high status education, i.e. from an academic to a practical bias, albeit that in the event the practical course has to be justified by more academic criteria.

A second factor within the wider social and political environment which has had impact, is the desire by government to bring teacher training, especially, much more closely within their sphere of influence. It has frequently been argued that teacher autonomy was an important feature of the sixties,[52] that there was a shift away from external controls to be found in the movements of that decade. During this move towards greater independence by teachers, the Schools Council was set up and flourished, for example, and C.S.E. Mode 3 examinations were developed. Each of these, it can be argued, characterised the efforts of teachers and teacher groups to take control of their profession during that period. Teachers had established a position, strong enough to resist attempts by the D.E.S. for example to set up a study group on the curriculum. By the seventies however, general concern was beginning to make itself felt about teachers (Bullock, 1975) and about education generally. Government opposition was growing towards this increasing teacher autonomy, in particular in relation to Schools Council developments, and the William Tyndale affair reinforced this opposition.[53]

Overall there was general dissatisfaction with regard to the success of schools in relation to a number of factors. The search for ways of achieving greater equality of opportunity had not been really successful. Furthermore, what was perhaps increasingly more to the point, after years of greater expenditure, and despite high hopes, education had done little to improve and expand the economy. It can be argued that these factors gave rise to two influential developments. Firstly there was to be a tightening of expenditure on education, leading to notions of education being more relevant to the 'real' world. This places priority on the selection of the kinds of courses which institutions make available. At the same time courses can only be made available if student numbers are appropriate. Often this eliminates the fringe and less widely popular subjects.

Secondly there is a more acute awareness of priorities, when cutbacks occur. Priorities, it can be suggested, were moving by the mid-seventies, away from notions of 'education for the whole person', towards an emphasis on 'education for the economy'. This tended to lead to an assumption that the importance of education rests on its ability to produce an able workforce. It is not surprising then that 'economistic' interpretations of educational policy began to assert themselves. Education had to support the overall broad economic objectives. It had also to show itself to be good value for money. So different assumptions became observable, rooted in notions, for example, that institutions and courses must be viable, that they must not be overstaffed, that the courses must be economically relevant. The time for increased expenditure in education was over and one way of dealing with this was via 'accountability', to parents, to local authorities and, more important to the D.E.S. It is not

hard to see the implications of this for PS 180. 'Good' and effective teachers, it suggests, are what the economy needs and the response of C.N.A.A. is to push for further classroom experience. What is more, 'good' teachers of a particular kind, teachers committed to the belief of the overall importance of the learning of skills amongst their pupils, tends to be implied. The introduction of PS 180 at Honours level means at the same time drawing teacher training into the C.N.A.A. orbit. It presents a means of establishing tighter control over the kind of B.Ed. Honours course which is made available. Economistic assumptions are also dictating to some extent, as has been seen, the nature of PS 180, in this case by ensuring that the Credit is a project-orientated rather than a taught course. There particularly appeared to be a lack of enthusiasm for increased expenditure on the Professional Studies Credit, a factor not altogether unrelated to its low status within the Honours year.

Government proposals for a core curriculum for schools were also another significant development. It was felt that a core curriculum would enable standards to be more easily monitored in schools. But from another point of view, it is possible to suggest that the establishment of a core curriculum would provide a framework for establishing greater control over education, over what is taught in schools. There are implications here for PS 180. Less directly, via C.N.A.A., a sort of core curriculum , it can be argued, is being established, at higher education level. I am referring here to C.N.A.A.'s demand for Professional Studies as an essential component of the B.Ed. Honours year, even though its initiation had to surmount immense problems for this to happen.

Greater accountability by schools to parents and others suggests a demand for more adequate teacher performance, which is implied in this specific instance as a priority by the inclusion of PS 180 as an essential component of the B.Ed. Honours course. This emphasis on accountability is underpinned by notions of democracy, in the sense that it involves a wider range of individuals and groups in the running of schools. However, from a different perspective, it is possible to suggest that the concern for parents' accessibility to schools is part of a government strategy to cultivate wider political consent.[54] If this perspective is accepted then, it is possible to perceive this call for greater accountability, as not simply an assertion of control over schools and teachers, but also an attempt to establish wider social and political control as well. For example, by involving parents in efforts to improve the quality of schooling, it can be suggested that government is making an 'alliance' with parents, drawing them more closely into its sphere of influence.

The James Report's (1972) efforts to establish the same length and structure of training for all teachers, and their plans for a three cycle training, could be said to be a response in that decade to early complaints about inadequate schoooling. James' efforts to emphasise professional training, I would argue, tended to reinforce the division between subject work and professional training, which had to some extent existed in the earlier B.Ed. degrees. It also paved the way for the growth of C.N.A.A. as a validating body which, I would argue, may be perceived as a potentially important centralising force for teacher training. The planning of PS 180 took place in the shadow of James and was part of the general concern with a need for improved professional training. It also was occurring within the

context of increasing power of C.N.A.A. as a validating and centralising body.

The Professional Studies Credit could not be seen as a direct response to the recommendations of the Bullock Reports either, chiefly because Bullock coincided with, and did not fore-run, the initial planning of the course, but also because it was not a Report dealing predominantly with teacher education. Nevertheless, in a more general sense, the notions underpinning the Professional Studies Credit and those underlying the Bullock Report show a similar tendency and are to be found within a basically similar context. Bullock enquired into the prevailing standards in schools, but found that there appeared to be little evidence to suggest that they had actually fallen. Nevertheless they were perceived as not fully adequate for the contemporary needs: "The reading and writing abilities of children ... (need to be) ... adequate to the demands made upon them in school and (which are) likely to face them in adult life".[55] (My insertions.)

The curriculum is understood in the widest sense in the Taylor Report (1977), and the governing body was envisaged as being in a position, for example, to set the aims of the school and formulate guidelines to promote high standards of behaviour. While this 1977 Report was not published at the beginning of the Professional Studies credit negotiations, nevertheless the underlying trend in educational thinking during the two years of preparation of PS 180, 1975-77, is likely to have been making itself felt. These concerns with what goes on in the school, including the aims of the school and the standards of behaviour of its pupils, are met by proposals for what may be interpreted as a potential means for establishing further control over schools and teachers. The powers which it proposed should be delegated to the

governing body, the proposed membership of the governing body, and the latter's proposed authority over the 'curriculum' of the school are cases in point. It is possible that this stress on the need for school-based work in PS 180 could parallel a concern amongst heads, advisers and others to ensure a high level of competence, an acceptable performance of teachers in the classroom, while at the same time ensuring implicitly that a more traditional kind of learning was taking place.

If, as I have been arguing, we are in a phase of hegemonic crisis, when the state has found it increasingly difficult to control "... the effects of the economic class struggle during a period of the re-structuring of capitalist relations",[56] then it can be argued that the reasoning behind, and the development of, PS 180 is part of that crisis and of the response to it.

Burton and Carlen argue that the shifts in hegemonic practices can be considered as reactions to forms of crises, which result from the re-structuring of capitalism into a corporatist structure.[57]

> "The recomposition of British capital has taken the form of increased centralisation concentration and internalisation of capital and in consequence revolutionising of the labour process ... The state reaction towards these conflicts ... has been to steadily increase the coercive elements of hegemonic control. The period from 1945 to the present ... has been one of movement from ideologies of extensive consent to those based more on the 'exceptional' forms of domination ..."[58]

Burton and Carlen are here leading specifically up to their analysis of government reports, since the reports which they analyse are located within the general contours of these happenings. I also have here understood, and argued earlier, that the development of a certain kind

of knowledge and its placement as an essential part of an educational course can also, by analysis, be located within the general contours of these events.

Burton and Carlen argue that the general hegemonic movement has two important effects for their analysis. The first concerns the increased significance of legitimacy and the second concerns the transmission of arguments establishing the state's right to coercion. While Burton and Carlen are looking specifically at Government Reports on Law and Order, this argument is not entirely without relevance for this study. Clearly when issues of concern over standards in schools and competence of teachers were beginning to make themselves felt in the 1970's they were combined and re-formulated in the minds of the public, along with other general concerns over, for example, comprehensive secondary school reorganisation, progressive teaching methods, the William Tyndale debacle and others. These tended, even as early as 1969, to be run together to represent an underlying and unifying problem of a fall in educational standards. These contentious elements drawn together in this way, provide an overall and politicised issue. The state comes to be seen as the impartial arbiter of evaluations of the problems and proposals for changes and improvements.

The issue here is one of a fall in educational standards and one of the ways of resolving this, relevant to this study, is to ensure that teachers in training have more and effective contact with schools and experience in the classroom. Secondly, any form of control whether indirect or overt, requires official justification. The strategies of justification are of course more effective if they can be made to fit with established notions. The shift towards a more repressive

strategy, which Burton and Carlen hypothesise, remains strongly linked with the need for ideological domination and tends to be based on successfully institutionalising the argument of reform.[59] Reform in this instance rests upon widespread public notions concerning the need for 'down to earth' teaching and learning in the classroom, rather than the dominant notions of liberal educationalists who are concerned with 'learning by doing', 'integrated days', 'team teaching' and 'individual development'.

As far as PS 180 is concerned, it can be argued that the planning of the Credit was taking place in this context and on two counts it carried notions of legitimacy. Firstly teachers in training had moved over the previous decade into a much more academic world, with increasing numbers of B.Ed. graduates. These criticisms would seem to suggest that things had gone too far in that direction, too far away from the professional training aspect. Secondly at school level progressive methods, many of them transmitted through teacher training institutions, were not really understood or appreciated by parents, nor had they shown themselves capable of producing the required educational standards, or so the argument went. The general discipline problems, inadequate (perhaps arguably so) achievement in reading, writing and a number of other factors, all contributed towards a general malaise and feelings of dissatisfaction with education. These strands began to be drawn together in the Black Papers from 1969 and in subsequent Reports. The Bullock Report, in particular, showed a concern with language in schools and the basic skills of reading and writing. Their concern over these provided the justificatory base for carrying out reforms. Strategies of justification tend to rest on the notion that the social rewards

which education brings are regarded as important for all, both from the point of view of individual fulfilment and from that of work. It is not surprising then that more practical experience in the classroom is advocated for teachers in training, with its implied emphasis on teaching skills and basic work in the classroom.

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Chapter 5 FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSING GOVERNMENT REPORTS

Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 1, there are various traditions within which different approaches to the concept of ideology have developed. In this study the particular concepts I have selected fall within the marxist tradition since I believe they provide me with useful tools for critical analysis and for penetrating different levels of reality beneath 'appearances'. It can be argued that within this tradition notions of ideology are rooted in social contradictions. Ideology, drawn from this perspective, is a concept which is capable of accounting for misrepresentations rooted in material reality.[1] These contradictions, I believe, give me a key to understanding what lies beneath the surface of appearances, and are likely to help provide explanations at deeper levels.

I suggested in the first chapter that a dual interpretation of Marx led to both positivist and historicist approaches while a third development structuralism, perhaps linked to some extent with the former, evolved also. It is on this latter approach that I am going to focus. Marxist structuralism especially in the work of Althusser, places the emphasis on the internal relations of the social structure through which social phenomena are produced. Structural analysis has developed particularly in relation to language, but Althusser applies this approach to more general cultural factors in society. Structuralism, it can be argued, stemming from both marxist and non-marxist sources[2] has produced a useful interpretation of ideology, focusing on the underlying cultural structures of society. With the notion of ideology as an underlying structure, I believe, scope is provided for an understanding of the 'hidden' elements in society, or

any segment of that society. What is also important I believe about such a framework is that it moves the focus away from an analysis of causes to explanations in terms of the social process and internal relations, within a society. Ideology and society are seen to be accountable in analysis, through an examination of the laws and rules governing culture and knowledge.

Structuralism and language

The structuralist approach to language is also a relevant part of my research. It is perhaps this development within structuralism which has been most extensively pursued and applied, i.e. the field specifically concerned with language rather than culture in a broader sense. A form of 'discourse analysis' broadly within this tradition, it can be argued, provides a useful framework for the study of Government Reports. I perceive such analyses as an essential element of this research. They provide an important means of understanding the wider social structure and it is against this background that the analysis of the Professional Studies Credit has to be made. The Professional Studies Credit, I believe, can best be analysed as located in such a context, since this avoids the danger of perceiving the Credit as a 'perennial' unit of education, something which could occur at any period. I would argue that ideas are 'social', resulting from negotiations between individuals and groups at a particular historical moment. And it is the social and economic context of that historical moment which is crucial to the development of those ideas.

What is important about more recent work in language, within the structuralist tradition, is that it suggests that linguistic systems

can be seen as only one element in a much wider field of sign systems.[3] One can argue then that ideologies underpin both linguistic and wider cultural factors. Hegemonic ideologies are appropriated by, and serve, the dominant groups in relation to both language and culture. While one seeks to identify the rules and mechanisms by which certain things come to be seen as important, or unimportant, it is crucial that they are located in the social, cultural and linguistic context.

Central concepts

From these perceptions as I have already discussed in Chapter 1, I have selected certain concepts which I believe allow me to analyse adequately the two major elements of my research. Again, it might be useful to draw these together and to give some indication of the way these are to be used in analysis. It is evident that in many ways Gramsci's and Althusser's 'theories' offer alternative approaches to the task. However, I have already argued in Chapter I that at certain points some of the ideas contained in their work converge to some degree. In addition, rather than taking their 'theories' in any complete sense, I retained elements from each, which it can be argued are central to both, and proceeded to an analysis based on selected central concepts from the two writers.

To enable me to see how parts of the educational system produce particular ideological effects, firstly the concept of practical ideologies, stemming from the work of Althusser, was selected since it serves to examine the mechanisms whereby that part of the BEd degree course selected for study, produces particular ways of thinking. This involves a focus upon the material practices and the routines concerned with the teaching and learning of the Professional Studies

Credit, the course under study. Secondly, the concept of theoretical ideologies provides me with a means of examining the formal curriculum or syllabus which it can be argued initiates students "... into more generalised forms of social consciousness ..."[4]. In this way I attempt to show that the organisation and fragmentation of knowledge, together with the language associated with it, serve to establish these generalised forms of consciousness.

A third concept, this time stemming more directly from the work of Gramsci, is that of hegemony. Sharp defines this concept particularly well: "Hegemonic ideology is pervasive and insidious, intruding into the forms of social consciousness".[5] As has already been discussed in Chapter 1, this concept of hegemony or dominant ideology is concerned with specific relations of domination and subordination, related to the distribution of power in a class society. Gramsci believed that, in democratic societies, the dominant class obtains spontaneous consent through such institutions as the family and the school and that it does this through the exercise of hegemony. It can be argued that it is hegemony which shapes both practical and theoretical ideologies and penetrates common sense thinking even if, as in this case, common sense thinking refers to the academic orientation and expectations pertaining to particular groups of educationalists. Clearly certain assumptions are made about suitability of course content and method and the focus on practical and theoretical ideologies enables one to perceive the hegemonic underpinning of the ideas existing with regard to the course. Hegemony is a complex concept however, for it is not static and can be viewed "... as a dynamic movement continually responding to unresolved conflicts and new ideological tendences".[6] This understanding gave scope for analysing the changing arguments and perceptions evolving around the planning and implementation of the Professional

Studies course.

The implication of a framework built around these three major concepts is that, no longer are ideologies seen as part of an external constraining structure. The aspect of education under study, i.e. the Professional Studies course, is viewed as a part of the constraining structure itself. Secondly, through the use of the concept of practical ideologies, the establishment and running of the course can be analysed from the point of view of ongoing sets of relationships.

To sum up, the actual concepts of practical and theoretical ideologies, it can be argued, provide insight into the social practices and ideas through which hegemony is produced and sustained. By using these concepts, I attempted to clarify the actual forms of transmission, and to identify what mechanisms were involved in this transmission. In doing so, I was firstly seeking to penetrate established common sense thinking related to a particular course in higher education and thus to identify the ways in which the dominant ideology changes or sustains the nature of this common sense within educational circles. Secondly, predominantly through the concept of hegemony , I was seeking to understand the links between the establishment of this course and the wider social, political and economic context. The analysis of Government Reports is especially concerned with this second aspect. Thus the social and historical context, in which the course is embedded also becomes the focus of analysis. It can be argued that it is an essential focus since education can be seen as the

> "-product of the complex articulation of different modes of production in specific social formations or how they have been transformed over time, and earlier practices and struggles which have influenced its social form".[7]

In particular it can be argued that intervention in education has existed in the past and continues to exercise a significant effect and impose constraints in contemporary society . To understand something of this social and historical context, involving a consideration of the nature of state intervention, I am pursuing in the coming chapter some discourse analysis of selected, and what I believe to be pertinent and relevant, Government Reports.[8]

To analyse Government Reports a more 'refined' framework is required. Within the overall tradition that I am using I have devised one from that formulated and used by Burton and Carlen[9] to analyse official discourse . Official discourses on education are likely to embody the dominant ideologies underpinning the beliefs and attitudes concerned with education, or more specifically, teacher education. The ideological underpinning of certain Government Reports which emerged during the 1970's, is important for this study since these reports led up to the period of planning for, and/or implementation of, this course which took place between 1975/80. This ideological underpinning which I hope to reveal in my analyses serves then as an indication of the prevailing hegemony. It is my intention that these analyses should provide some understanding of the objectives and orientation which are valued or thought desirable in relation to teacher education, and more specifically in relation to a BEd Honours Professional Studies course. One might not be altogether surprised at disparities between the formulation of policy and the subsequent implementation of it in educational institutions. These can be expected. Indeed certain proposals in Government Reports are never implemented in any case. Nevertheless in this study I am seeking some understanding of the overall correlation, or otherwise, between ideologies underpinning certain Government Reports on the one hand,

and those evident in the planning and implementation of the Professional Studies course (the subject of my enquiry). My fundamental objective is to analyse how particular ideas, forms of interaction and 'common sense' understanding about teacher education arise and come to be agreed upon, and why such understanding exists.

In addition I believe the relationship between the state and formal education to be of crucial importance. Both the formulation of educational policies and teacher training courses, it can be argued, are rooted (the latter indirectly) in the state. If this is so, questions about education are bound to involve questions about control.[10] In the earlier and forthcoming chapters then, analysis of official documents and of the Professional Studies course, means examining how the state exercises its control, directly and indirectly, in relation to each. On the one hand it can be argued that the state imposes its power through the production and dissemination of knowledge about education, to be found in Government Reports. On the other the Professional Studies course, in its turn, serves, to reinforce and disseminate certain values and attitudes to an important and influential group in society, whom we may loosely label the intellectuals.[11] Both educational policy and the 'workings' of the college course, it may be argued, are activities of the state and serve to reproduce, modify or change existing social conditions.

In the analyses of both aspects of my study, I look at what the prevailing knowledge is, how it is formed, what its effects are, how and why a particular knowledge comes to be imposed on individuals and the relationship between the state and education.

With regard specifically to the analysis of the Government Reports in education, I am seeking to examine their status as knowledge, the ways in which this status is created and defined, and the economic and political roles that they play. My aim is to examine the mechanisms which have ideological effects, how they produce meaning and how issues are defined and established as problems. More specifically I am seeking to identify the 'signifying practices'[12] which create knowledge about education, for it is in this way that ideology creates reality.[13] I also seek to understand something of the political implications of this knowledge.

Democratic ideology

One really important feature of both aspects of this study is the 'tone' of the discourse produced by the various mechanisms. As with the analytical framework for examining the Professional Studies course, the following analyses of Government Reports take place against a background of events, policies and overall trends of a particular socio-historical period and within a particular social and economic context. It can be argued that from the end of the second world war to the mid-sixties, cultural ideas and much of Government thinking were underpinned by what may be termed a liberal democratic ideology, an all-pervasive ideology of consent. It is probable, however, that even by the mid-sixties this hegemony was beginning to weaken, and indeed to be questioned. This uncertainty manifested itself in increasing militancy, both in education and in other spheres. However what is important, from the point of view of both aspects of this study is that the liberal-democratic ideology, far from disappearing, seems to have become a residual element in contemporary educational thinking. This once powerful ideology therefore remains

an important feature of this study and merits further reflection. Besides being characterised by consent it is typically identified with liberal and progressive ideas. The liberal tone is clearly associated with democratic notions, in the sense of involving all in the decision-making process. Progressive notions are not so clearly related, yet progressive ideas tend to be associated with perceptions of freedom of the individual and 'individual fulfilment', once again notions closely related to perceptions of democracy.

By the late sixties, the challenge to this ideology was growing,[14] making it difficult for the state to cope with its normal activity of control by political means. It can be argued that this elicited an increase in the use of repressive state power.[15] In line with the general argument of this paper the crisis in education is seen as part of the overall crisis in the economy and the state[16] and the basis of these crises can be seen as resting upon the challenge to the earlier democratic assumptions. In education, for example, the latter had led to the view that schools could solve the problem of working class failure. The challenge to the liberal-democratic ideology stemmed from a growing belief that schools had failed to live up to these expectations.[17] Donald, in his article, applying discourse analysis to the Green Paper on education, argues that sources of change in education can be sought in changes in the labour process, but that they can also be traced to the changing ideologies, which influence our thinking and our activities, and in particular to the once all pervasive democratic ideology.[18] Manifestations of these changes are to be found, it can be suggested, in the questioning of objectives in education, the querying of education's place in contemporary society and the re-structuring of educational

institutions to fit new patterns of state expenditure.

It can be argued that Government Reports of the post-war era have a democratic orientation. They take a democratic position which means perceiving their recommendations as a 'response' to certain problems , but essentially problems which can be 'resolved'. In education, for example, they may be economic problems concerned with manpower requirements or political problems about equality of opportunity. Most of them, however, have been concerned with working class failure in education.[19] What is important though, is that from a democratic viewpoint failure is seen as amenable to social policy; problems can be dealt with and solutions found within the educational system itself. What is being argued, then, is that the democratic ideology underpinned policies and activities in education certainly until at least the late sixties and I believe that they continued, at least partially, to influence official thinking into the seventies. Assumptions made by experts and politicians within this period fall within the limits of the democratic ideology.

Despite the democratic perception, that problems can be dealt with and resolved , it is possible to take another stance and to suggest, by contrast, that such problems are irreconcilable since the goals that are sought rest on fundamental contradictions. Clearly these contradictions span the whole range of political discourse, but within the educational sphere there are a number of notable and influential ones. The notions of 'equality' and 'equality of opportunity' for example, terms often used interchangeably, are in fact very different conceptions. This difference, it can be argued, lies at the root of many of the difficulties. Finn et al argue that these two concepts "... represent different positions and point to contradictory outcomes",[20]

the first being much more closely related to notions of creating a common culture, the second linked with economic goals and concerned with sharing out education more fairly.[21] The first, it can be argued, requires more radical solutions while the latter is capable of being dealt with through reform. The first recognises the importance of the class structure of society, while the latter tends to ignore it, suggesting that education more or less on its own can resolve the problem of inequality. Often the two concepts are confused and the first ideal is sought through reform of education, which is not a feasible proposition.

The 'Other'

One of the important keys to the subsequent analysis is the recognition that beneath the surface of Government Reports and, for example, the planning and implementation of an educational course, lie other important contradictions also. In examining official discourse it is possible to suggest that it seeks to present its readers with the legitimate discourse, to the exclusion of what can be termed the 'Other',[22] that is issues which the authors of a Report do not wish to raise, or to draw into the relevant argument. The 'Other' however is essential for the discourse for "there would be no discourse without the absent Other".[23] The 'Other', sometimes called the 'alternative unofficial version'[24] has to be admitted so that ultimately it can be denied, within the duration of the Report, using various mechanisms and tactics to bring this about.

Burton and Carlen argue that the essence of the ultimate findings of a Report are presented in its introduction. Consequently any problems, other than those selected by the authors of the Report for further

investigation, have to be ignored or quickly dispelled. Such problems have to be 'confronted' then quickly rendered 'unspeakable'.[25] Having selected from the range of possible alternatives, the authors of a Report have to 'manage' its empirical material and appear to give well justified reasons why it chooses some points and not others. Those elements, which a Report wants to play down or ignore, the 'Other', are dealt with by the use of various devices, such as seeing particular events as the 'exception' rather than the rule, or attributing fault to 'human fallibility', what Burton and Carlen call the 'fraternal critique'. Such devices seek to negate all the evidence which might provide difficulties for a Report. The central issues are established by setting them within a particular, apposite historical context and are then reinforced by the sequential organisation of the Report. On top of this the tone of a Report is usually authoritative, a very important device.

Underlying contradictions

To attempt to create a different reality from the one intended by the authors of Government Reports, one needs to take a different political perspective[26] in order to 'de-construct' the text. One way forward here is to trace the potential contradictions in a Report. One of these, I would hypothesise, to be found increasingly in the Education Reports published in the seventies, is that concerned with the demand for more and higher education on the one hand, and the need to cutback on Government expenditure on the other. Another can be discerned in the view of education as a quest for individual fulfilment , the perception of education being valued for itself. By contrast there is the view of education which is economistic , i.e. concerned with efficiency in education and firmly linked to the

economic structure. Closely related to this is the theory-practice dichotomy which has impact on the content of education. More practical , vocational orientations come to be contrasted to theoretical , and academic emphases. And, fourthly, a notable contradiction may be perceived also in progressive views related to teachers' independence, on the one hand, while by contrast, views that schools, teachers and education need to be brought more closely under centralised control are apparent. Other contradictions or dichotomies can be discerned but these, I believe, are the most important.

An 'interventionist' period

It is possible to argue that the decades of the sixties and seventies were periods of rapid change. The seventies in particular, following the more turbulent sixties, displayed signs of growing Government intervention. The Reports I intend to study fall within, what may be termed, this interventionist phase[27] and therefore their messages might be seen as especially important:

> "Hegemonic and legitimacy crises in the interventionist era represent a phenomenal reaction to the state's inability to control the effects of the economic class struggle during a period of the restructuring of capitalist relations"[28]

It can be argued that, when any profound 'restructuring of capitalist relations' takes place, such as moving from 'laissez-faire' to monopoly capital, it means that not only does the social context change but, more important, ideologies need restructuring. If we accept that such changes are taking place, that a corporatist structure requires increasing centralisation of capital and consequent changes in the labour process, it is evident that contemporary

ideologies are changing too. Different values come to be cherished within the educative process. Conformity , for example, is likely to replace individualism , for there is more place for the former quality in increasingly centralised and bureaucratised society.

In such a period of re-construction , it is possible to see that there are increasing struggles and crises and that these are likely to elicit more coercive forms of control by the state.[29] This does not mean that coercive measures of necessity replace more ideological forms of consent in any permanent sense, merely that temporarily while expedient they do so: 'Coercion is a prior necessity for the adoption of subsequent ideological domination'.[30]

Reasons for selecting Burton and Carlen's framework

While the concepts of hegemony , theoretical and practical ideologies are useful tools for examining the Professional Studies course, a more refined framework is appropriate for the analysis of Government Reports. Burton and Carlen have established a means of analysing Government Reports on law and order.[31] The underlying ideology of the Reports they select to analyse, it can be argued, corresponds to that which underpins the Government Reports on education which I have selected for my analysis. Certainly they fall approximately within the same period, in this case the late sixties and early seventies. The general social context in which these reports were produced was therefore very similar. Additionally, lying within the overall marxist tradition of sociology, Burton and Carlen's work has the advantage of emphasising hidden and underlying factors. On two counts at least then this seems an apt framework for the analysis of what may be termed official discourse . More recently James Donald[32] undertook an analysis of a Green Paper on Education,[33] using

Burton and Carlen's model along with certain ideas taken from the work of Barthes.[34] Donald uses Burton and Carlen's explanatory categories along with something of Barthes' 'codes' to analyse the Green Paper, acknowledging that there are differences between nineteenth century literary texts and contemporary Government Reports yet finding certain elements highly applicable. He found for example the same codes at work in the Green Paper, as Barthes' traced in his analysis of Balzac's short story, 'Sarrasine'.

I decided to derive a framework basically out of Burton and Carlen's work, modified by its mediation through Donald's analysis. In the following section I outline the major features which I shall use in my later analyses of Government Reports.

Introduction to the analytical framework

The importance of Government Reports and documents is that they are perceived as an important means of establishing and maintaining hegemonic domination. Speaking specifically of Government Reports on law and order, Burton and Carlen suggest that they represent a system of

> "... intellectual collusion whereby selected, frequently judicial, intelligensia transmit forms of knowledge into political practices. The effect of this process is to replenish official arguments with established and novel modes of 'knowing' and 'forms of reasoning'. By linking state functionaries with lay intelligensia, 'official discourse' on law and order become one part of the constant renewal of hegemonic domination".[35]

A parallel, it is felt, can be drawn with Government Reports on education without too much difficulty. It can be argued that reports and circulars on education serve as one of many processes which reproduce specific ideological social relations. They produce a particular social

and political orientation. This forms part of the strategy, through which particular problems or crises are 'established', so that they can be repaired, and through which possible reforms are presented to the public. Burton and Carlen call this the strategy of 'discursive incorporation'.

Organisation of a Report

A fundamental part of this framework rests on the hypothesis that official texts appropriate a problem in three stages. Firstly they 'theorise a beginning', secondly they 'structure an argument' and thirdly they 'attempt to resolve a problem'.[36] This is not unlike the view put forward by Epstein, in his examination of television news. He suggests for example that

> "Every news story should ... display the attributes of fiction or drama. It should have ... a beginning, a middle and an end. These are not only the essentials of drama; they are the essentials of narrative".[37]

In this view, television news programmes also contain three stages. What is important about this framework for analysis, however, is that the resolution of the problem has to be allowed for in the earlier theorising of the problem and the structuring of the argument. But it is also possible to see that the content and form of official knowledge can be analysed along similar lines to those which are perceived as essential for good fiction or drama and according to what might constitute a saleable product.[38]

An important key to understanding is to grasp that the 'problem', which is presented as central to a Report, must never be shown as insoluble. The democratic underpinning is an important factor here. Certainly the ideological underpinning will influence both the

way a Report is presented, and what it actually contains. It can be argued that this important (if residually so) and influential orientation tends to play down the aspects of conflict and struggle. It serves to present society and educational institutions, for example, not as sites of class struggle or conflict but as places where problems occasionally arise. These are mere 'strains' which can be 'relieved'.[39]

Taking a different orientation, it is possible to perceive problems or crises, not as breakdowns in an otherwise smooth-running situation, but as perfectly normal. After all, in most societies, various individuals and groups have different degrees of power and influence, and struggle to contain the situation according to their own advantage. They can resist change or make contrary demands. It is not surprising then that such situations can be seen as perfectly ordinary occurrences in daily life. The tendency, in democratically orientated discourse, is to 'play down' this question of crisis or to modify 'problems'. If the democratic orientation has been influential then in selecting the problems which are presented to the reader, it also has ensured that these problems are perceived as ones which can be resolved via reforms. A really radical issue, which cannot be dealt with so simply, is ignored or dealt wtih as the 'Other' i.e. raised, in order to be 'put down' as quickly as possible.

The way the problem is dealt with during the three stages is an important mechanism used by the authors of Government Reports. The problem is established in the first stage by an apposite history, indicating its supposed historical origin. In the second stage an argument is built around the problem. This seeks to make the problem and its potential resolution appear quite natural or normal, not a mere perspective, which in fact it is. The problem is seen as

"... a natural emergent from the past. One change is supposed to follow another, in the unfolding of the natural laws of cause and effect and supply and demand".[40] By the third stage, the ground has already been prepared for the forthcoming resolution of the problem and the latter has been spelt out in a particular way, to allow for its remedy and for techniques for neutralising it. The three stage organisation provides an important means for ensuring that the problem will be resolved.[41]

The significance of this is that the three stages make up a tautological discourse. The determining of the core issues, the establishment of the central problems by a process of asking and answering questions while other problems are displaced, and the closing of the forms which the response may take, establish a discourse of tautology. The Report has to 'sow the seeds' of its findings in the introduction. "The usual organisation of official reports allows them to frame subsequently presented evidence within the interpretative parameters of the final findings. These are presented at the beginning of the book".[42]

Mechanisms

In addition to emphasising the importance of the organisation, this framework also provides a means of focusing upon the mechanisms and tactics employed to establish the credibility of a Report. These are to be an important part of the subsequent analysis of Government Reports. One important device is the 'privileging' first of the authors of the Report, then of certain 'characters', and finally of its anticipated readers. "Moral positivism establishes the credibility (or not) of the characters in the text".[43] It is suggested that early on in a Report the readers are invited to 'trust'

the privileged judgement of certain characters and groups. Secondly, there is 'subjectivist empiricism' which enables the authors to guarantee the assertions of the official discourse by claiming that 'anyone would understand' why for instance a particular situation has arisen. This is supported by an 'evolutionary empiricism' which claims that those with access to a large amount of evidence are those who are in the best position to pass judgement.[44] These are the techniques which establish this process of privileging of authors, readers and characters.

At the same time there is a privileging of tone of a Report, which is achieved by "... the rigid control and management of narrative time".[45] Then there is the privileging of 'narrative logic'. Official discourse sets up its own credentials for providing the directions on how to read the Report.[46]

Now clearly these are very important and subtle devices to employ, for they define and establish the status of the authors and ensure their acceptance by the readers, especially the 'important' readers. The latter are identified also by, for example, being invited into the confidence of the authors to take a point of view. At the same time many people and groups are involved and interested, but only some are mentioned and presumably therefore deemed worthy of the invitation to reflect upon the issues concerned.

Discourses

The discourses employed are yet another subtle way of pointing the argument in a particular direction and setting the tone which the authors intend shall be used. A complex of discourses are employed within certain "paradigmatic modes of knowing".[47] As already discussed,

the dominant way of thinking in education has been underpinned by a liberal-democratic ideology and, clearly, the current hegemonic ideology is likely to give rise to an important discourse. If, as I claim, that during the seventies, the democratic ideology was in the process of becoming 'residual', then I hope to be able to show that Government Reports in that decade were increasingly displaying a shift in orientation. Thus progressive paradigms are likely to be found within the Education Reports of the seventies, but towards the latter end probably much less so. These and other discourses often overlap, complement or even contradict,[48] but each serves its purpose, that is, creating the tone of the text and providing the background against which a particular 'logic' is developed. Various discourses then are important mechanisms employed by the authors of a Report to guide the readers towards the appropriate 'mode of knowing'. Besides the progressive discourse, which calls upon liberal ideas to support its arguments, there is, for example, a 'state' discourse, in which a problem is given coherence in relation to its political aims.[49] These discourses are selected, partly at least, according to the perception the authors have of those whom they consider to be their important readers, as well as establishing a favourable context for their argument.

'Naturalisation' and 'neutrality'

Other important devices are employed to make a Report's response, or proposals, appear quite natural. Often common sense or human nature are involved. Where criticisms are made of ongoing educational activity, criticism of the fraternal kind, termed the 'fraternal critique'[50] is used with mistakes being seen as due to pressures etc., in some way excusable or at least understandable. All this

occurs, of course, within the general parameters already established by a Report.

Reports also seek to assert the essentially just nature of the state, its practices and its agents, by attempting to neutralise the problems under scrutiny. Allegations are placed within a context which invites the reader to understand how complaints arise, but also how they are mistaken.[51] Various terms of criticism are employed, standards or lack of them are invoked, notions of efficiency are raised. 'Lack' is explained in terms of such things as historical change or needs. In fact change and needs are common sense categories, the latter especially within democratically orientated educational circles. They are terms we all share and understand and are useful devices to be employed when establishing ways of compensating for this lack, or deflecting criticism. These terms are 'stereotypes' which have for the reader particular favourable or unfavourable connotations, as suits the authors. They select or pick their way through criticisms, neutralising them by these various devices and ensuring that they themselves appear disinterested and judicious in the process.[52]

The mechanisms and devices suggested by Burton and Carlen and James Donald are likely, I believe, to provide me with useful insights into how Government Reports create a 'reality', and to give me some knowledge of the political intentions of such Reports. By 'deconstructing' the text, Burton and Carlen seek to analyse Government Reports and to expose for analysis "... the structures of knowledge and modes of knowing realised in state publications"[53] while, at the same time theorising the position of this knowledge within the social and political context.

It can be argued that the Government Reports on Education, especially those from Bullock (1975) onwards, are responses to particular problems or crises in education, which may be termed 'crises of legitimacy'. One such crisis in education is the crisis of the legitimacy of the liberal-democratic ideology underpinning perceptions on education. The Bullock Report, it can be argued, was the first Report to question the hitherto inviolate area of teacher control in the school, the classroom and the curriculum.[54]

The particular problems and crises which Donald identifies in his analysis of the Green Paper on Education[55] lead him to suggest that two processes are at work.[56] Firstly he argues that there is a process of re-defining what education is for and, secondly, he suggests that the institutions of education are being re-structured. Finn et al also point out that the crisis in education forms part of a general political discourse. They argue that the consensus which dominated educational theory and policy from the post war years until the early seventies had collapsed. What was taking place in the later seventies was a process of "bidding for the consent of the governed".[57] The educational crisis they argue was just one aspect of this.

The importance here for my study is that ideologies are more visible in a period of rapid historical and social change. In the seventies there was a move from consensus to coercion, the latter responding to deep seated contradictions which, as consensus weakened, became more apparent and critical. Education is part of that overall change and I hope to identify elements of that change, within the selected Government Reports, as I did in the planning and implementation of the Honours degree course in Professional Studies, which is the focus of my study.

Donald applies perhaps a more detailed framework for analysis, than do

Burton and Carlen. He seeks to identify both the linguistic and institutional practices which, he argues, are used in official discourse.[58] The first led him to develop a framework out of Barthes' codes (See Appendix I). He particularly focused upon the 'signifiers', 'we' and 'our' which, he argues, seek to establish a coherence on basic contradictions which might otherwise be unresolvable.[59] I have not focused specifically upon these and other linguistic mechanisms, and how they produce ideological effects, but I have examined a variety of more broadly based mechanisms which together, serve to produce meaning. These, I believe, are sufficient to reveal how issues are established as problems and the ways in which a particular knowledge about education is created, as well as placing the problems firmly within particular ideological contexts.

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Chapter 6 ANALYSIS OF JAMES REPORT (1972)[1]

Introduction: Chapter 1 of James Report

The James Report addressed itself to certain important issues in teacher education. Firstly, there was the question of the quality of teacher training. Ideas were beginning to crystallise in response to the criticism of the late sixties in the Black Papers and elsewhere, and James was concerned that teacher training should therefore be closely linked with the needs of the schools. Secondly, there was the question of the organisation and status of teacher training. James sought to remove the universities from their position of domination over the colleges and to establish teaching as an all-graduate profession. At the same time colleges were to be diversified so that they were not solely concerned with teacher training. Thirdly James wanted to establish control and coordination of the teacher training apparatus, with a common structure for the professional training of teachers.

I began my analysis with the Introduction to the Report, examining the three stages by which it is suggested that the official discourse appropriates 'problems'.[2] Using this framework, I hope to establish the notion that the Report frames its 'evidence within the interpretive parameters of the final findings'.[3] This framework has been discussed in Chapter 5.

Theorising a beginning

The problem is first located in the discourse, by means of a form of apposite history. This is intended to represent the significant origin of the problem. So, the reader is told that,

> "... There is abundant evidence that the system is no longer adequate to its purpose." (para 1.1)

This immediately raises the question of why. A brief narrative is constructed telling the reader that firstly this is because there has been 'over-dependence on initial training, as distinct from continued education and training' (para. 1.1). The findings are indeed ultimately going to propose that this education and training should be

career-long for the teacher. A second issue turns upon another important facet of the findings, that is the concern with a common structure for the professional training of teachers. Thus 'inadequacy' is portrayed in the Introduction to the Report as stemming from the 'unhelpful distinction' between the graduate and non-graduate routes (para. 1.1).

The question of why uncertainty about teacher training has arisen of course needs explanation, and the authors of the Report draw on 'abundant evidence'. This suggests that some form of scientific, empirically sound data is available, raising the level of credit-worthiness of what they have to say. It raises the status, if you like, of their criticisms by the very nature of the vague positivism which is implied.

The 'significant origin of the problem' here is indicated in the authors' account of the historical background, which had to be brief because '... proposals should be capable of speedy implementation' (para. 1.5). The 'account' includes events which are potential problem areas, but which also provide an opportunity for the authors to mitigate criticism. It begins:

> "It is however necessary to recall briefly the most important of the developments of the past decade which have immediately influenced our thinking about the future". (para. 1.2)

This tactic, the need for brevity, enables selected aspects of history to be presented on justifiable grounds and the points selected are ones which in fact find the teacher training institutions at their most vulnerable. There will then be little question that the authors are justified in the proposals for change they are ultimately going to

make. For example there is the question of the extension of the teacher training course from two to three years, coupled with the severe shortage of teachers which caused teacher training institutions to be consequently under pressure. The institutions have not only had

> "... to develop new courses and assume new responsibilities, but to do so while simultaneously responding to the demands of a massive expansion of numbers". (para. 1.6)

Both the institutions themselves and the state could be criticised for not having dealt with these changes efficiently. Thus to mitigate such potential criticism, the authors resort to drawing on notions of common sense which the readers will be able to share, especially bearing in mind the nature of the 'important' readers, the educationalists. The authors make use of the tactic, the fraternal critique to attribute any weakness to human fallibility, implicitly inviting the readers to share this understanding. They point out that the

> "... argument for fundamental change is not based upon any false assumption that the present system has, in some total sense, failed or is in imminent danger of doing so". (para. 1.6)

Difficulties and problems, they imply, have arisen but the fraternal critique enables the authors to suggest that these had to do with an increase in student numbers, with the institutions' development of new courses and their assumption of 'new responsibilities' (para. 1.6). Clearly, the Report seems to suggest, institutions, over-pressured in these ways, are bound to experience some problems, a fact which we all understand. At this point then the readers are privileged along with the authors to understand that this is so. In this way, 'the Other', i.e. the inadequacy of teacher training, the issue that is difficult for the authors to raise, has been confronted briefly, to be

quickly disposed of in terms of what are perceived as severe pressures on teacher training institutions. So, if the latter have been inefficient in some way, this is understandable . The question of the quality of teacher training has been raised and diplomatically dealt with. The Report can now go on to prepare the ground for proposals to improve the quality of teacher training as if it were a response to a virtually neutral process of change. It can be argued that it is also paving the way for a potential extension of control by the state within the teacher training arena.

Concern not simply with quality , but also with the status and organisation of teacher training, can be seen as providing yet another means for attempts by the state to extend its control, for the Report is seeking to propose changes in both. A little narrative history once again leads us into the issue of the different routes which are currently taken to obtain qualified teacher status. The readers have already been told that inadequacy in the system stems partly from this and the Report goes on ultimately to find that there should be one common structure. Meantime the readers are left in little doubt as to which structure is especially inadequate: teachers often had to take on new roles for which the post-graduate training seemed an unsuitable preparation (para. 1.8). The ground is being carefully laid for the proposals which argue for a particular kind of re-structuring of teacher education. However to avoid criticism of the state, which clearly was responsible for this situation, in which the demand for new teacher roles was not being met, various mechanisms are employed. Firstly the narrative history takes us into the story with reference to the Robbins Report,[4] and the reader is pointed towards the way this Report had

> "... stimulated further the demand for Higher Education and the expansion and diversification of the higher education system". (para. 1.7)

Hence the 'fraternal critique' once again is used to mitigate criticism. Expansion in higher education and its diversification had presented the system with added difficulties. What is more schools had had to be reorganised, causing teachers to take on new roles. This is particularly pertinent to teacher training institutions (para. 1.8). The readers are now 'privileged' along with the authors, to understand why things had not gone well. All may understand the tremendous overload of problems which staff and institutions had had to face. Human fallibility is at the heart of the matter.

What is more, the ground has been carefully laid for more fundamental changes, concerning the 'kind' of teachers required in contemporary society. Both this concern with 'quality' and the concern with 'organisation', it can be hypothesised, are part of the overall concern with the better, more efficient performance of teachers in the classroom. 'Democratic' discourse is drawn on, but the emphasis of the Report is moving towards a concern with the 'quality' of teaching, which is not necessarily related to any 'progressive' stance.

Structuring an argument

Having given the 'problem' its historical origin, it is now possible for the authors to build an argument around it. What the apposite history has done is to ensure that the problem is seen as evolving quite naturally out of the past, when in fact it is essentially a perspective. The narrative has produced the 'problem', to which the state must respond in the proposals of the text.

At this stage, certain aspects of education come to be valued, while others tend to be disregarded. Discussing the expansion of higher education since Robbins, attention is drawn to an emerging 'binary system of higher education' (para. 1.7). This has involved the growth of the polytechnics, the emergence of C.N.A.A., for example. This and other developments have 'laid new demands on a further education system', exacerbated by 'a large expansion of student numbers' (para. 1.7). This discourse serves to identify, particularly, developments in higher education, outside the university sector. The C.N.A.A., the degree granting body outside the universities, is particularly seen as 'proving to be a development of great significance' (para. 1.7). Certainly its potential for reducing the power of the universities with regard to teacher training institutions is evident. What is more, the expansion of the university sector tends to be disregarded.

What this discourse is doing is elaborating in more detail the complex of developments which have been taking place, and which therefore require the state to take an overview of the situation, and justify the state's proposed intervention. There has been expansion. There have been changes. Clearly the Report is justified in making some assessment of an aspect of Higher Education.

But in the case of teacher training an argument needs also to be built, not simply around changes in higher education, but also around developments in schools. So the readers are told:

> "During the same period, the schools have been adapting themselves to far-reaching changes. There has been much new building and remodelling of schools, to accommodate a substantial increase in the school population. There has been reorganisation, admittedly incomplete, of secondary education into a great diversity of forms". (para. 1.8).

Again the argument turns upon a 'natural' unfolding of developments, this time in the school sector. Selected strands are orchestrated in such a way as to serve to produce the problems to which the state must respond. There have been changes, it is alleged, partly due to the increase in the numbers of schoolchildren, a supposedly neutral factor. But there have been further changes related to the re-organisation of secondary education and these changes are seen as significant:

> "Teachers of the middle and upper age range have often had to take on new roles". (para. 1.8)

Thus this need, arguably created in specific terms in this Report for middle and upper range teachers to take on 'new roles', provides the state with an opportunity to suggest, not merely the fact that the emphasis in teacher training should be changed, but the direction that these changes should take. Certainly however they are not likely to follow the post-graduate path (para. 1.8). Thus the university sector is posed implicitly as an unsatisfactory form and means of teacher training. The readers are invited to perceive such training from this point of view: "It is not always a suitable preparation". (para. 1.8).

What is happening is that the authors of the Report are already establishing their right to speak with authority, by means of the privileged tone which they have adopted. Thus they prepare their way for introducing ideas on appropriate teacher education and training, an 'appropriateness' which will gradually come to be shared by the readers as they assume their 'priveleged' position as well. Unlike university educated teachers, who tend to be perceived somewhat unfavourably, primary school teachers are seen quite

differently. A progressive discourse ensures that this is so, highlighting the innovatory aspects of their work:

> "The curricula and teaching methods in primary schools, already the subject of much innovation ten years ago, have continued to inspire experiment and new approaches". (para. 1.8)

Additionally:

> "There has been a welcome, although lamentably small, extension of nursery education". (para. 1.8)

Discussing these and other teaching situations particularly in the primary sectory, it can be argued, the Report retains a progressive underpinning. Innovatory teaching methods and extended nursery education are themselves aspects of recommendations from the Plowden Report, perhaps the archtypal example of progressive ideas.

Certain aspects of education come then to be seen as valued, others less so. Traditional training, for example, is seen as unsuitable. Innovations have continued to 'inspire experiment' in the primary schools. The Schools Council has 'stimulated the study and reform of the curriculum' and educational technology has been more widely understood (para. 1.8). Thus what is listed here amounts to those educational processes and ideas which might be termed progressive in orientation. In this early part of the seventies, despite concern with the then current questioning of teaching performance, many of the firmly accepted ideas remain progressive .

However the purpose of the Report is to examine what the authors see as any ineffective aspects of teacher training. But criticism has to be modified in order for it to be presented to the readers, the educationalists, in an acceptable form. Thus, once again the

fraternal critique comes into play, customary when a breakdown, however slight, occurs within state institutions. Problems are related by the authors to a lack of material resources:

> "All these changes have been accomplished under the handicap of a persistent shortage of teachers ...". (para. 1.8)

Attempting a resolution

The problems are now established and ready for the third stage of appropriation. At this stage they can be 'negated' and the techniques for doing so have been foreshadowed in the way the problems have been posed. It can be argued that what concerns the authors, and through them the state, is the increasing autonomy of teachers which had reached new heights in the sixties. With expansion of higher education and increasing numbers of teachers in training, an opportunity had been provided for attempts to exert more control by means of pleas for quality and standardisation. At the same time the overall need to re-think the role of education in contemporary society was opened up on the grounds of general and widespread dissatisfaction in society at large. However this problem had been presented diplomatically, perhaps accurately, in the sense that it was identified as resulting from a system which was not simply unsatisfactory , but 'no longer adequate to its purposes' (para. 1.1). Such a statement ensures that it lies within the bounds of the Report to suggest what kind of system would in fact be adequate for the contemporary world.

Firstly the context for proposals for standardisation then has carefully been prepared. Inadequacy is portrayed as arising 'from an unhelpful distinction between two kinds of training' (para. 1.1).

Secondly, the restructuring of teacher training becomes an essential factor since the readers are told that 'inadequacy arises from an over-dependence upon initial training'. In case the readers are unsure at this point, the authors add the contrasting favourable view, that of 'continued education and training' (para. 1.1). The Report seeks to justify its proposed intervention. The reasons why the state must intervene in teacher education and training are because of the needs of school and society for rapid and radical change. Only the state, it implies, can deal with this and be effective in doing so. The Report conjures up a picture of the state having this remarkable and insightful capacity. The 'needs' identify the 'lack' and the possibility of its remedy through the state's policy proposals. Concepts like needs and change are common sense perceptions having particular meanings in education. They are what may be termed 'stereotypes'.[5] These are words repeated as if they were quite natural, over-familiar words which imply contemporary truths .

The Report has already also identified the 'lack', as has been suggested, with a hint at supportive, although vague 'empiricism':

> "There is abundant evidence that the system is no longer adequate to its purposes". (para. 1.1)

The discursive tension has already been softened by the acknowledgement of

> "the achievements of the schools into which young teachers have taken their knowledge and skills". (para. 1.1)

The 'Other' too has been briefly confronted, as I suggested earlier. General concern with teacher effectiveness in the classroom, coupled with a growing teacher militancy in the sixties, has given rise to

public disquiet. The Report is partly a response to this. But the Report is effectively engaged in attempting to divert attention from any charge of inadequacy on the part of the state. Problems have arisen, not because of ineffective training programmes or lack of supervision of what was going on in schools, but because of the rise in pupil numbers, the overwhelming problems of the colleges vis à vis changes and increased staffing and the failure of universities to respond adequately, and indeed progressively.

It is in the 'Principles of the Report' that the essence of the two main proposals are outlined. They give a suggestion of what is to be found in the later part of the Report:

> "First proposals should be capable of speedy implementation and should relate to the immediate future, since it would be unrealistic in the extreme to attempt to construct a system capable of lasting indefinitely. The best we could hope to do would be to ensure that the proposed arrangements offered a framework for growth and development over perhaps the next 20 or 25 years, sufficiently flexible to accommodate the changes which will inevitably take place in that time". (para. 1.2)

The argument is exploited by the references, which are made to 'growth' and 'development'. Arrangements have to be 'flexible' and 'accommodate the changes'. These are all terms which imply the state's power to be enlightened indeed progressive in its approach, its desire to respond to changes which might occur, its flexibility. These are quite an array of 'progressive' stereotypes.

> "Secondly, the proposals should reflect and help to enhance the status and independence of the teaching profession and of the institutions in which many teachers are educated and trained". (para. 1.2)

Once again the 'priveleged' position of the authors of the Report is asserted as the 'guarantee of correctness'.[6] The Report's second

principle is supported again by the use of progressive discourse.

> "It is hoped that the implementation of this report would do much to encourage both the profession and the colleges to move forward to a new degree of independence and self-determination". (para 1.2)

The key words are independence and self-determination, supported by the notion of moving forward.

Together these two principles, i.e. the standardisation and the restructuring of teacher education, point the way ahead for the Report. The first opens the way for proposals concerning the re-structuring of teacher education. While the second is leading to proposals for the removal of the universities from their position of authority in relation to the colleges.

Third Cycle: In-service Training:

Chapter 2 of the James Report

By the end of the introductory chapter of the James Report various discourses, in particular the progressive discourse with the help of other tactics, have served to invite certain readings and hinder others. Problems have been related to the over-dependence on initial training and to the two route entry to the teaching profession. The authors of the text have also calculated who the important readers are, in terms of putting their policies into practice. It can be suggested that they are the H.M.I.'s, the Local Education Authorities and those concerned with teacher training and education, especially in relation to the colleges. Having quite briefly 'justified' the need for intervention, a plan is proposed for the restructuring of teacher education and training (para. 1.9). The training is to fall into three 'cycles' and seems geared to the colleges, rather than the university institutes of education which have already been demoted by the general tone of the Report.

Theorising a beginning

The major focus of the proposals of the Report, the authors argue, centres on the proposed 'Third Cycle', i.e. the cycle concerned, perhaps surprisingly, with inservice education and training. Because of this, this cycle is presented first in the Report, with the intention of placing it thus in a pivotal and important position.

This may be perceived as a shock tactic in the sense that it tends to give priority to the life-long education of teachers rather than, as might be expected, the initial professional training. This then is to be one of the radical aspects of their proposals and the one on

which the authors' whole plan turns. This ordering of cycles, while it identifies the key part of the proposals, also firmly separates the professional and personal training aspects. The authors stress that the third cycle has determined '... a great deal of the thinking which underlies the report as a whole' (para. 2.1).

In this chapter then we are alerted to the issue, which is rated as of the greatest importance in relation to the underlying problems of education and schools. The 'Other'[7] is quickly faced, i.e. the issue that the current three year teacher training course had not produced the required results. Ideas are introduced by an 'apposite history', in much the same way as the problems in Chapter 1. However it is a very brief history, although adequate for the purpose, since the scene has in reality already been set in Chapter 1. By means of the fraternal critique many teachers are portrayed as 'effective' and 'successful'. Others however are 'less fortunate'. This leads to the question why? The narrative then explains that the successful teachers

> "... tend to be those who have had the benefit of inservice opportunities to extend their personal education and skills". (para. 2.1).

It is not difficult to perceive the technique at work here. The 'Other', part of the conceptual framework introduced by Burton and Carlen is briefly confronted, but the problem or weakness is portrayed as stemming from that body of teachers who have not undertaken inservice work. They are, or so we are told, 'less fortunate' (para. 2.1). Inadequately trained teachers then come to be the objects of criticism. But because of a potentially tense situation this is quickly neutralised by means of the fraternal critique. This is employed in order that criticisms can be negated and assimilated into the overall discourse:

> "Many teachers are outstandingly effective and successful, have a clear understanding of their professional aims and enjoy a high degree of satisfaction in their work" (para. 2.1)

Criticisms of 'ineffective' teachers are then elaborated further and revolve around the argument that they have not (albeit not wanted ? or not had the opportunity ?) taken up any inservice opportunities. This is an authoritative assertion, rooted in the position of privilege the authors have already established for themselves. There does not appear to be any real attempt to draw on empirical evidence as to correlations between inservice training and effective teachers. In any case it is unlikely that effective teachers can be measured. Nor are 'effective' teachers defined exactly here, there is simply a feeling that readers, or at least the important and privileged readers, and the authors know exactly what they are talking about. There is a common sense understanding implied that those who undergo extra training are more committed to teaching. In case there is any doubt as to this some elaboration pertinent to their argument appears, drawing the parameters a little more firmly around the issue. But it is simply tautological:

> "It is no accident that teachers in the former (i.e. the effective teachers) category tend to be those who have had the benefit of inservice opportunities to extend their personal education and professional skills" (para. 2.1) (my insertion in brackets)

The authors do not wait for their argument to unfold in order to convince us by the end of the Report. They tell us as early as paragraph 2.1 that this is so. One cannot help feeling that, if this is as clear to everyone as this paragraph implies, why has there not been more conclusive arguments about it earlier?

The interpretative parameters then so far ensure that inservice training is seen as essential, a quite normal response to the problem . Yet this still needs some further elaboration. Clearly,

> "The best education and training of teachers is that which is built upon and illuminated by growing maturity and experience". (para. 2.1)

All other options are closed. The parameters have been quickly and finally drawn. Yet in reality this is only one possibility among many. After all, what about the nature and the quality of this training? Suspicions are aroused as to what the underlying reasons might be with regard to the proposals for such extended education and training. Is it perhaps after all in the interests of the Department of Education and Science or the state to extend their control temporally over teachers? The William Tyndale affair had highlighted the problems of teachers who had values incompatible with those of the community in which the school was situated and with those of the state. With continuous education and training, greater conformity of, and less digression from, the dominant and accepted values in teacher training might be possible.

Secondly in the changing economic climate, and in a situation of projected fall in pupil numbers over the following decade at least of which the authors of the Report are aware, inservice education would be there to help the teacher adapt to new ideas, to new requirements and new objectives. This way, it would also be possible to match supply and demand more effectively. The implications seem to be that all of this could be done more efficiently by inservice training, rather than by training new teachers with more relevant backgrounds. Clearly ongoing career-long education itself is not cheap and James (1972) was overshadowed by imminent restraints in expenditure. Nevertheless

numbers of teachers in fact were released in the following years for some form of inservice training although this was probably only a relatively small proportion. It is doubtful though whether re-training via inservice courses would prove as expensive in the long run as taking on new students for the four year initial and personal cycles, especially in the light of political or professional difficulties over possible need to declare some teachers redundant.

Structuring an argument

Having drawn the parameters fairly tightly, readers are then invited to interpret events from the position of 'privilege', that important but subtle tactic, 'privilege' which readers and authors are now likely to share. The authors then are in a position to make further authoritative proposals and in this way to entrench themselves even deeper into their position. Empirical evidence is drawn upon to give the proposals further authenticity:

> "a great weight of evidence submitted to this Committee, orally or in writing suggests that a much expanded and properly coordinated programme of inservice education and training is essential to the future strength and development of the teaching profession". (para. 2.3)

Support then comes from a wide variety of influential sources, from associations representing teachers, those who would have to provide the courses and local authorities who 'would have to foot the bill' (para. 2.3). With such support, it seems to suggest, who can dispute the idea? Empirical evidence is drawn on to ensure that this proposed 'cycle' arouses little hostility, at least not where it counts. Now the authors appear to be increasingly satisfied with their proposals for the third cycle and with their general acceptability and this certainty and confidence must be conveyed to the readers:

> "It is self-evident that pre-service education and training together with the probationary year, can be no more than a foundation". (para. 2.3)

Options have now been eliminated: the proposed solution, that inservice training must be an integral part of teacher training is 'self-evident'. The tone allows for no doubt to enter this conclusion . Yet by way of finalising it the authors reaffirm once more their original position by arguing against too great a dependency on the initial training:

> "In that initial period it is impossible to foresee, let alone to provide for, all the demands that may fall on the teaching profession in future, or on individual members of it during their careers". (para. 2.3)

The 'initial training', it is hinted, is no longer appropriate for a rapidly changing society. At the same time, by implication, the weakness or the lack has been identified: it is the current initial training of teachers. But this potential criticism of state institutions and the potential questioning of the state is immediately neutralised . The fault, it suggests, does not lie with the nature of the training institutions and their courses, but is because the initial training is a proportionately small period merely at the start of a career. This is inadequate for a lifetime of teaching in a changing world. Progressive and liberal notions emanate from the implication that education needs to be responsive to change . There has long been an association between forward-looking educators and innovation. Something of this is rubbing off here.

This apparently 'innocent', but potentially devastating criticism of the existing state of affairs is in this way mitigated still further. The fraternal critique is once again employed to assimilate the

potential criticisms into the overall discourse. This is done by attention being drawn to the strengths of the existing system of inservice activities. After all there has already been

> "a considerable expansion of inservice activities. Institutes of education, colleges, universities, polytechnics and other institutions of higher education have offered courses. L.E.A.'s employ professional and advisory staff, promote the majority of short courses and provide facilities, including teachers' centres". (para. 2.4)

Other facilities and activities, which this expansion of inservice courses has stimulated, include the financing by Local Education Authorities, the organisation of courses by H.M.I.'s in association with Institutes of Education. Teachers and the Schools Council, have also 'taken the initiative'. Perhaps there is some implication which can be drawn by the order in which these are presented: the colleges and universities, the L.E.A.'s, H.M.I. and finally, teachers and the Schools Council. All these have contributed towards the 'considerable expansion of inservice' work even though there remain weaknesses. Certainly the Report is geared towards certain influential readers from the point of view of the proposals of the Report. The colleges and universities, the L.E.A.'s and the D.E.S. (through the H.M.I.'s) are each going to be asked to participate in future plans. Respectively, they are likely to be involved in running, financing and organising the 'Inservice Cycle'. It can also be argued that indirectly such ordering attempts to establish the line of control over teacher training with regard to the future plans for inservice training. Only finally are teachers and the Schools Council referred to.

Having commended the recent expansion of inservice courses the actual criticism can now be made, the specific 'lack' can be identified:

> "Welcome though all this activity has been, it is widely believed that provision is still insufficient to cover more than a small part of the total need". (para. 2.4)

We now understand that the fault does not rest with the state. It is as a result of natural and unforeseen (and therefore by implication forgivable) external events. Courses have been provided. They are simply not enough to deal with present requirements. The earlier lack to which I have already referred, i.e. ineffective initial training, I believe, is reinforced by this additional weakness identified here as insufficient and inadequate inservice training. If it may be termed a lack it is quickly despatched as a lack of quantity. Furthermore current inservice courses are uncoordinated and not properly understood. This time the lack is identified as a lack of coordination. Both of these can be made good by the State, and are to be found in the proposals of the Report.

> "Weaknesses in the present arrangements are that facilities, adequate in themselves, are not always well coordinated ...' (para. 2.5)

It isn't then the quality of the courses which is seen to be at fault, merely the neutral fact of poor organisation, poor coordination. There are other weaknesses too, but again ones which can be resolved. Existing courses are not

> "... clearly related to defined stages in an individual career or to the initial training which preceded it". (para. 2.5)

Coordination is required and, it can be asked, coordination by whom? Potential areas of control are now opening up and the most likely candidate will be the state itself in the form of the Department of Education and Science.

Thus the scene is set. The implicit perspective has been established and the Report moves on to the second stage, i.e. the structuring of the argument. The teachers are perceived as having needs and the pattern of inservice plans are to be designed to meet these, to be a response to them. But the concept of needs is not theorised or defined. Needs, as I have already discussed, is one of those common sense categories, stereotypes, which Donald has suggested are so useful in this kind of official discourse. Needs are going to help to pinpoint more detailed aspects of the lack to which the remainder of the chapter is a response:

> "... it may be helpful to identify more clearly some of the needs which it (inservice education) would be designed to meet". (para. 2.5) (my insertion in brackets)

Various discourses can be seen at work in the general context in which this is expressed. Qualities desirable in teachers are inferred in what may be termed a liberal discourse which can be located in terms such as 'demanding', 'patterns of opportunities' and 'personal qualities' (para. 2.5). But there are, secondly, elements of a more practically based expert discourse. The teacher's profession is seen as

> "... so demanding of personal qualities, but also of knowledge and skill". (para. 2.5)

The notion of education for the whole person and education as the acquisition of skills has its roots in early Greek civilisation. It is a theme which can be traced throughout much of western culture. The early Greeks identified a higher level of education which was required for a successful career in government. It involved a study of the humanities and the arts. On the other hand, knowledge which resulted from a search for principles of regularity or laws was quite different, a second order knowledge. The pursuit of culture for its own sake survives as a remnant of the liberal arts tradition.[7A] This was

especially the case when higher education served principally the ruling class.

Certainly the dichotomy, education for the whole person and education for skills, has existed throughout the history of higher education. The Universities have traditionally been places where personal development, the development of the whole person with emphasis on the intellect, has been fostered. The polytechnics and technical colleges by contrast have been places where 'know how' and practical skills are learned. This contradication is embedded deep within the whole history of western culture going back to Plato and the Greek academics.

This division between personal qualities and knowledge and skills serves to identify the separation, which is to be subsequently elaborated upon in the ensuing Report: the emphasis on personal development, on the one hand and teacher education and training on the other. This division between personal development and the learning of knowledge and skills points, I believe, to an important contradiction underpinning the James Report. It can to some extent be related to fundamental and

traditional perceptions about the theory - practice dichotomy within education. This issue is important in the earlier analysis of the Professional Studies course. In many ways this latter course can be seen as the point at which these two elements converge in an emphatic way involving it, I hypothesise, in a series of crises. At this point in the Report, however, the argument is defined and formulated in such a way that there is no longer any question as to what the problem is or even whether there are different ways of dealing with it. Extended inservice education, clearly coordinated, is the way ahead. What is more elements of control by the state emerge, albeit introduced within a democratic discourse. 'A pattern of opportunities' and 'a working relationship' are terms which help create the discourse:

> "To be effective, a pattern of opportunities would have to bring into a working relationship individual schools, L.E.A.'s, the D.E.S. and the institutions providing higher education and professional training". (para. 2.5)

Schools are listed first, for it is their cooperation which the Report is seeking, while L.E.A.'s are clearly going to be involved in a good deal of the organisational and coordinating activities, essential for the implementation of inservice work. The D.E.S. is explicitly listed third, but there is little doubt that its overall control is implied. The higher education institutions would presumably be acquiescent if they found themselves in such a situation, (should James's proposals be implemented), where they were deprived of much of their traditional work.

Attempting a resolution

"The needs of the Third Cycle"

Having established a perspective on the issue of teacher education and training, this section seeks to respond to certain needs which relate to the teaching profession. The ideas are taken still further. The ground has already been prepared in the first part of the chapter for the unfolding of the details of the inservice proposals. The ineffectiveness of the teachers has been defined. The reasons for it have been proposed and the emphases selected. Against this authoritative background[8] the authors employ various techniques to justify their forthcoming proposals.

This section of the chapter is concerned then with needs , i.e. the 'needs of the third cycle'. Subsequently within four sentences the stereotype needs recurs four times:

> "In building on the foundation laid by their initial training, teachers will acquire a clearer understanding of their own needs and problems. Later in their careers, fresh needs will arise and there will be new challenges. It is impossible to catalogue the diversity of needs that may arise. All that can be done is to illustrate, by a series of examples, how some of these needs may be identified". (para. 2.6)

The stereotype needs identifies the lack still further. In these instances it implies the failure of teachers to keep pace with changing social factors. It also provides the state with an opportunity to impose different sets of values on teachers to fit the new, what may be termed, 'mass' education. The 'story' is constructed on the fashion of 'building blocks'. For example, once they have completed their initial training teachers will 'have a clearer understanding' of their needs . Then to establish the justification for the subsequent

proposals, with this understanding teachers in their later careers will have fresh needs , indeed there is likely to be a diversity of needs . This exposition suggests that during their initial training teachers' needs have to some extent been satisfied. The implication is that inservice courses will similarly be able to respond to, and satisfy, these later needs . The lack then partially occurs in the course of later teaching and subsequently the authors

> "... illustrate by a series of examples, how some of these needs may be identified". (para. 2.6)

Thus by these examples , teachers' requirements are identified much more specifically. Additionally a psychological-educational discourse ensues in which changes become 'challenges' that teachers must meet . Thus for teachers,

> "later in their careers ... there will be new challenges". (para. 2.6)

It is clear that the authors perceive that the proposed inservice courses will help them to meet these challenges .

The authors then proceed to identify more precisely the needs of the third cycle. A series of examples of inservice courses is outlined but what is important about these examples is that, while they are presented as mere examples, in practice they are likely to serve to draw parameters around what are to be thought about as suitable and appropriate inservice courses. Certainly, it is no longer a question of whether inservice courses are desirable. No real discussion takes place. Through the examples it is possible to perceive certain trends which, it may be argued, reveal the underlying assumptions of the authors of the Report, about the appropriateness or otherwise of certain inservice courses.

One important emphasis is the stress on the development of practical skills in the classroom. The authors argue that

> "All teachers ought to have opportunities to extend and deepen their knowledge of teaching methods and of educational theory. When special studies of teaching methods have identified improved techniques it is important that the results should be widely communicated to teachers in the schools". (para. 2.7)

Teachers in primary, and even secondary, schools,

> "will need to continue to improve their understanding and competence in the language, arts, i.e. language development and the teaching of reading and writing". (para. 2.7)

What is more, the Report argues, there are other desirable skills, but skills which 'it would not be suitable to include in initial training'. The authors assert that these are better developed on the basis of some experience of teaching. We are immediately alerted as to what is seen as common core material and what is seen as specialist work. These developmental notions are proposed with authority which implies the authors' access to what counts as important knowledge. The selection of examples includes 'careers advice' and 'counselling', as well as the teaching of 'handicapped children' and teaching in 'multi-racial' schools. These are then fringe subjects for the specialist few. Assumptions are thus made about what kind of knowledge forms or does not form, the 'building blocks', i.e. the foundation, of educational studies. In addition, despite the introduction of compulsory training for graduates, a number of graduates remain

> "who have not had professional training and wish to repair the omission". (para. 2.13)

But the inservice cycle is predominantly to be concerned with the updating and improving of some form of specialised classroom skills.

Research is likely to be thought of as a contrasting emphasis and even where the idea of 'research' is introduced in one example, the emphasis is upon research making use of 'direct observation of school situations and the experience of practising teachers', (para. 2.16), in other words it is applied research. In this way attention is drawn to the underlying contrast between the notions of research and practice in the form of 'practical classroom work':

> "the conduct of research ... requires special skills and techniques and a degree of detachment not easily reconciled with the day-to-day demands of a teacher's work". (para. 2.16)

As already intimated this dichotomy remains an important and integral part of my analysis of the Professional Studies course. As far as the Report is concerned, the emphasis on research is seen as more acceptable if it can be perceived in an applied or a 'practically orientated' sense. More specifically research, in their view, is likely to include studies in depth which experienced teachers might wish to undertake. The implications here are that experienced teachers will probably want to undertake work on school-based activities. Options with regard to research then are quickly narrowed and, for teachers, appropriate research appears to include

> "Studies in depth which experienced teachers may wish to make into particular aspects of the nature and development of children". (para. 2.16)

However, certain pure research projects are seen as appropriate for the staff of the colleges and universities, a notion retaining traditional assumptions about what is more advanced knowledge, with its emphasis on pure rather than applied work.

In this labyrinth of suggestions are revealed certain assumptions about the nature of education held by the authors of the Report. The division between theory and practice, a traditional perception within education, is clearly revealed. Firstly at the wider level, it can be argued that the authors of the Report are stressing throughout the importance of practice in schools, the need for practical skills. All this relates, it is possible to suggest, to what may well be changing ideological perceptions of what education is for. The underpinning of the applied emphasis is important also since it can be interpreted as the manifestation of a 'new'ideology which, arguably, was beginning to make some impact on the still penetrating progressive ideology and, in the case of higher education, the elitist orientation. The practical or vocational bias, it can be hypothesised, becomes extended still further in the later Bullock Report (1975), with its emphasis on the need for improved professional skills amongst teachers.

In many ways, it can be suggested that this increasingly marked dichotomy is a manifestation of an ideological challenge to what has been called the 'university ideal'.[9] This challenge is rooted in the belief that education is basically an economic resource. The university ideal, on the other hand, while there is no overall agreement as to its exact definition, may be said to be concerned with the 'preservation of civilised culture' and the 'pursuit of knowledge'.[10] It is involved with the development of the 'cultivated man' and leadership qualities. What is important about the university ideal is that, while it appears neutral, it nevertheless has strong political functions also, providing the elite with the means for cultural dominance.

More significant still, Tapper and Salter argue that the move towards notions of 'manpower planning', in contemporary educational thought

signifies a move towards greater bourgeois control of education. "It represents a struggle ... to destroy those last vestiges of aristocratic influence that have so dominated formal education".[11] Certainly they argue that until the present there has been domination "... culturally, politically and economically - by those whose education most closely follows that produced to design the gentlemanly ideal".[12] In the wider context then, the significance of these challenges and struggles can be seen in terms of class struggle and in terms of attempts to gain control of the way education is to be thought about.

Proposals for a separate Professional Training Cycle, it can be argued, are themselves a manifestation of an increasingly practical emphasis. The response to growing disquiet with education, specifically in the form of the 'third cycle', is to suggest that closer attention needs to be paid to what teachers actually do in the classroom and that this needs to be 'appropriate' in any particular period. The implication is that the increasing emphasis upon intellectual quality among teacher training students, in recent years, had given rise to a deficiency in practical skills in the classroom, a theme taken up later in the Bullock Report (1975). But in a broader context it is possible, as has been suggested, to perceive this shift of emphasis as part of a broader struggle for control.

In relation to both colleges and schools then, it can be argued that there is a change of emphasis indicating a certain foundering in the underlying liberal ideology.[13] More, what may be termed technocratic aims [14] are appearing as a manifestation of this struggle for control, it is suggested. The emphasis comes to fall on the economic needs of society with, in the case of education, a stress on the development of

practical skills in the classroom. To play their part in the economic activity of society teachers must produce effectively the 'right' kind of individuals. To do this teachers must be proficient in the classroom. It can also be suggested that the seeking after technocratic skills is something which can be measured more easily, rather than progressive approaches with their much broader grand-scale objectives.[15] Creative skills in school, for example, are infinitely less measurable than is the ability to read and write. This of course implies that this requirement to measure is an integral part of education. In fact this has become a common assumption. This should not be surprising since education is an aspect of a culture underpinned by a dominant positivist rationality.[16] Giroux is speaking here of education as a discipline, with the related theory and research becoming

> "... firmly entrenched within an instrumentalist tradition that defined progress as technological growth and learning as the mastery of skills and the solving of practical problems".17

But, if positivist rationality underpins theory, it is likely to underpin practice also. As far as teacher training is concerned, when Reports refer to the creation of practical teaching skills, they appear to have in mind, implicitly at least, the teacher's performance in teaching basic skills not in developing creative qualities amongst the pupils.

It is not difficult to see that the struggle between these two ideologies, academic and, what may be termed, technocratic ideologies, is closely related to the important contradiction to be found in the underlying division between theory and practice, a division of significant importance in my analysis of the Professional Studies Course. This is not because the terms theory and practice

evoke simply 'different' ideas, but because they are different conceptions, with undertones of differential status.[18] It can be argued that this Report is moving away from a more traditional academic perception of an aspect of higher education to a more practical or vocational view, as can be seen for example, in the reference to research, which needs to be applied or classroom oriented, or to classroom skills which need to be enhanced. This suggests, I would argue, that narrower technocratic aims and assumptions are beginning to supplant 'older', academic ones. More specifically in relation to higher education, Tapper and Salter, suggesting in fact that both aspects are elite forms, argue that,

> "... a bitter conflict has developed between two elite ideologies of education, the traditional university ideal and the manpower planning approach".[19]

Certainly, I would argue, it is possible to trace the struggle between these two ideologies in other Educational Reports of the seventies and in my analysis of the Professional Studies course. Teacher training, in the view of the Report, appears to be moving towards 'training for skills', in this case giving experience, if sometimes specialised experience, with minority groups in the classroom, rather than emphasising intellectual education. Certainly James does not ignore the importance of intellectual work as is evidenced by their proposals for the 'first cycle'. What I am arguing is that it is possible to perceive the struggle between theory and practice in the general tone, discourse and organisation of their proposals for the third cycle. Even when speaking of the first cycle, the 'study in depth', the authors argue that the colleges of education

> "... should combine the advantages of study in depth with the merits of a more broadly based education". (para. 4.2)

In this view, specialisation and depth have to be 'diluted' to some extent in order to make first cycle work more acceptable.

As I have argued, the division between practice and theory is at the same time reinforced by the actual organisation of the teacher training course, with the proposed separation of the training period into three cycles, 'inservice', 'professional' and 'personal'. Research, which may be considered an aspect of theory, has to be accepted by the authors of the Report, as an integral part of the third cycle activity. It cannot be avoided, despite their emphasis on practical skills. But it is important to note, as I have suggested, that research only appears to be acceptable when closely tied with the school and the classroom i.e. with practical application. Even where an exception is made, pure research is nevertheless perceived as an exception, and suitable only for the staffs of the colleges and universities.

A third issue which can be discerned, within this list of examples related to inservice courses is concerned with the way in which these courses provide a means of re-training already qualified teachers which, I have suggested, provides an opportunity for making economies. But at the same time such measures, as I have already suggested, may be perceived as a potential means for extending control by the state. However I would like to take the first issue still further, for a moment. Shortly after James was published, plans for cutting back on teacher education were drawn up. In 1972 the years of expansion were drawing to a close and while economic pressures had not begun to make themselves unduly felt, sporadically, even throughout this Report, items arise which, it can be suggested, are linked with economic constraints. From the point of view of economies, it is arguable whether it is in

fact cheaper to re-train or re-direct teachers, who are already fully qualified, than it is to enrol new students for a full course in higher education, although it is likely to be politically sound. However, in the context of the Report recommendations themselves, it is probable that an extension of career-long education might well involve considerable expenditure if the college population remained the same. Subsequent to the Report, however, with cuts in student numbers from 1973 onwards and with fewer newly qualified teachers entering schools therefore, inservice training could prove a more economical way of producing appropriate teachers. Three month, six month, one year, courses do not cost the same as a three year initial training period. By the 1977 Green Paper,[20] for example, it was argued that, with the declining numbers of newly qualified teachers "... there is both opportunity and greater need for inservice training",[21] almost ignoring, as it were, that the state was responsible for this decline in student numbers in the first place. On these grounds I think it is right to suggest that inservice training could prove to be a means of cutting expenditure and the state was quick to take up James's proposals in this regard.

What I am suggesting is that, if James's proposals for inservice work were not an attempt to reduce expenditure in themselves, they were taken up later by the state, which certainly was planning in 1977 an expansion of inservice education. In the context of reduced numbers of new teachers, the argument that it was a means of cutting costs may well hold good.

James however was also concerned with control of teacher supply. It was published at a time when there was still a residue of teacher shortages, in specific subject areas. What is important is that they

are listed in a particular way:

> "shortages occur in particular subjects, such as science, mathematics, physical education for girls and religious education". (para. 2.9)

The first two subjects, it might be suggested, are more nearly linked with the world of work, more vocational in orientation and perhaps imply the general direction of the thinking of the Report. But it is not simply subject areas which are named, although it is important to note that these two scientifically orientated subjects come first. This may well show the beginning of a change in the ideological underpinning of the Report, although this is probably too much to read into it at this point. In an effort to attract women teachers especially into the shortage area of infant school work, the authors perceive inservice work as capable of re-training already qualified people. With an eye perhaps to women teachers, returning to teaching after their families have grown up, the authors argue,

> "... there are many women and a few men who are drawn to this kind of work after experience with other age groups." (para. 2.9)

These are trained teachers who, with the help of inservice education, the authors feel, could be diverted into such work at a minimal cost. Additionally other shortage areas referred to include work with 'handicapped children' (para. 2.10), and 'teaching in multi-racial schools' (para. 2.10), as well as a large number of other practical examples. The emphasis to be found in these examples is an emphasis on practical teaching activities, for inservice courses, rather than the development of intellectual strengths. What is more, it is not difficult to envisage how such re-training would help, not only with flexibility, but also with economy which the state may already be seeking to make.

At the same time the teaching of handicapped and multi-racial children is perceived as peripheral to the mainstream requirements of schools. This reflects, I would argue, the progressive approach, in the sense that such 'minority' teaching is evidently thought of as presenting problems. Thus extra skills are required by these teachers, to compensate for inadequacies which will be otherwise encountered. In this way, the problems are capable of resolution. It is notable that these problems do not elicit any real analysis and discussion of the roots of these problems.

It can also be argued that implications of control stem from these proposals. Career-long 'professional socialisation', as has already been argued, provides an opportunity also for career-long control. It has the potential for the stimulation, negation or reinforcement of ideas which, arguably, could be perceived as a powerful means of exerting control. Certainly this is a real possibility, if teachers are to submit to inservice training of this kind over such an extended period. As I have suggested, from the above examples of areas in which recruitment is required, it is perfectly possible for the state to establish the parameters around the kind of courses that are to be established. While these needs are listed by the state and appear, with authority, to be the result of neutral developments, nevertheless the underlying ideological thinking is bound, I am arguing, to influence the choices that are made available. Science and mathematics, for example, are not selected simply becuase there is a shortage of teachers, but also because increasing economistic pressures are beginning to make themselves felt in education. What is more there is little analysis of the reasons for this shortage. In fact this shortage can be related to a misjudgement by the state, with its hitherto progressive styled recommendations, but this notion is not allowed to intrude. In the

Report it appears to be the result of a quite natural imbalance, quite unforseeable!

To extend this notion of control still further, as I have already suggested, there is evidence of a restricted set of values. The strong practical or vocational underpinning to these examples, it can be argued, is significant in that an important aspect of teacher training is being pointed in this direction. Emphasis for the inservice courses is not on the quality of the teacher's intellect, but on the quality of the teacher's performance. In many ways this can be perceived as a manoeuvre. By focusing the teacher's attention on method, and not on developing his critical skills, the state tends to ensure that the teacher is less questioning, perhaps more subservient. Aronowitz argues that "the stress on critical thinking ... has been debased by the emphasis on methods rather than content in the preparation of teachers ...". [22]

However perhaps to divert potential criticism, the authors of the Report point out that more academically oriented courses are to be made available. Opportunities are to be provided for non-graduate teachers to obtain degrees and even a limited number of opportunities to obtain an advanced degree (para. 2.18). But I would argue that there is a greater emphasis on practice, i.e. on the development of classroom expertise. It is on this that the Report focuses attention. But it is not just a question of emphasis, there is also what could be claimed to be an anti-intellectual discourse which reinforces this emphasis. For example, the authors perceive that most non-graduates will probably tend to choose a BEd course (para. 2.17). However the discourse informs the reader about the way this is to be considered for,

> "... the BEd in its present form may not always be as suitable and helpful as some other advanced professional qualifications." (para. 2.17)

Speaking with the authority which they have established, the authors go further and point out that, in courses leading to further professional qualifications, the inclusion of an academic subject even seems unnecessary (para. 2.17). It is likely that the BEd courses, at this point, were out of favour on the grounds that too much emphasis was given to the intellectually orientated disciplines of sociology, psychology, philosophy and history. But what is happening is that parameters are being carefully drawn around the way in which inservice courses are to be thought about. This is further reinforced when the authors consider the implication of their proposals for the schools, further education colleges and for the colleges and departments of education.

Looking at schools, for example, a practical discourse draws the readers into the confidence of the authors, for it is clearly privileging them by appealing to their common sense, which of course they all share. What is more natural than that 'inservice training should begin in the schools'? (para. 2.21). Furthermore,

> "It is here that learning and teaching take place, curricula and techniques are developed and needs and deficiencies revealed." (para. 2.21)

Such a statement appears so obvious that it does not prompt any serious criticism. The authors are clearly addressing themselves to the important readers, the staffs of the schools, for it is their cooperation which the authors are seeking. They will have to provide the situations in which practical inservice work takes place. They are the

ones being 'guided' towards practical inservice work. A democratic discourse provides a valuable tactic here and the authors retain the traditionally progressive approach, with an emphasis on the importance of innovation :

> "An active school is constantly reviewing and re-assessing its effectiveness, is ready to consider new methods, new forms of organisation and new ways of dealing with the problems that arise." (para. 2.21)

The Report takes a 'neutral' yet nonetheless an authoritative stance, suggesting that such schools will look on the training of its teachers 'as an essential part of its task'. Any infringement of this is clearly not going to meet with approval. But it is evident that extra expenditure is unlikely to be available to explore the above issues. This does not deter the authors who propose that changes will take place within the active school's 'own resources' (para. 2.21). The kind of tasks listed for dealing with these problems are reminiscent of the happier days of the sixties, 'discussion study, seminars with visiting tutors and visits to other institutions' (para. 2.21).

Perhaps it can be claimed that the implication of this is twofold. The democratic discourse retains elements of progressivism. Suggestions are made about the way in which the situation can be improved. The discourse implicitly seems to invite the involvement and participation of the schools in planning for inservice work. Yet there is an underlying contradiction for, I have argued, that parameters are already being drawn on the way inservice work is going to develop. Democratic processes are not going to be at work here. Nevertheless the democratic discourse raises the tone of the discourse ensuring that it is acceptable to the perceived readers, teachers and others. At the same time a fundamental point is being

made, for the practical discourse emphasises the importance of the schools in any future inservice work.

Having posed the problems in the kind of way I have described, that is suggesting that they can be resolved, partially at least by means of inservice work, does not exclude important underlying contradictions from surfacing from time to time.[23] As I have argued, the James Report was published just prior to serious public expenditure cuts. So while advocating life-long education for teachers, this was clearly going to meet with difficulties in the ensuing economic, political and social climate. In the event, however, I have suggested that this contradiction was probably in some way mitigated by cuts in the numbers of initial training students, even so far as subsequently providing the state with a potential means for cutting expenditure. However, at that pivotal point in 1973, there was emerging a serious need for economies to be made and there is some evidence of a growing contradiction: extended education on the one hand and retrenchment in expenditure on the other. Certainly it is possible to suggest that the Report's proposals contain some perceptible, if limited, consideration of financial stringency, through which this contradiction may be traced.

In the reference to Further Education, it is not surprising to find a strong emphasis upon the close relationship between further education and work. Inservice work it was felt should have firm bases in industrial experience. Indeed, currently,

> "Very many teachers for Further Education are recruited from other occupations ..." (Para. 2.37)

What is more, they

> "... bring their accumulated experience of industry, commerce and public service to their work ..." (para. 2.37)

The tone establishes the 'correctness' of such work-related people in further education, implicitly emphasising the importance of 'skills-oriented' education for Further Education students. However, the need for economies remains an important feature of this discourse. It was thought, for example, unsuitable for such Further Education teachers to undertake full-time courses on students' grants. They would, it was felt, be deterred by such arrangements. Clearly 'practical', including doubtless financial, problems are perceived as standing in the way of a commitment to professional training for such Further Education teachers. These difficulties in many ways represent the 'Other' within the Further Education field, for 'practical', perhaps economic, factors dominate 'educational' ones in the authors' argument. Contained expenditure and the need for the professional training of Further Education teachers, who have worked in industry, represent the underlying contradiction. But readers already know the Report seeks to examine this fundamental nature of the training of teachers. Yet, in this instance, the authors are prepared to bow to financial and other 'practical' pressures. So the 'Other' is quickly faced and as quickly dispatched:

> "Instead, they (Further Education teachers) should have opportunities to take professional training after entry into service and, as soon as possible they should be formally required to do so". (para. 2.7) (my insertion)

The argument now turns against full-time pre-service professional training, and it is likely to be collapsed into a shorter period (three months full-time, or the equivalent). The authors argue that

> "The practical problems of immediately introducing compulsory training ... would be formidable, and its scope, and application must initially be limited". (para. 2.27)

Basically the reasons for this must be very largely financial as well as organisational, ones. But what is important is that the 'Other', the basic need for the full time professional training of Further Education teachers, is dismissed on practical grounds, by privileging the readers to share this common sense decision.

The discourse at the same time reveals the priorities which the authors have, for it is those entrants proposing to teach mainly 16-19 year olds who will, in the first place, be required to undertake three months full time (or the equivalent) courses of training. The older age group of pupils ranks higher than the younger one in the authors' estimation. Thus the authors share the traditional assumptions held by many contemporary educationists, that time, money and effort is best spent on older age groups and their teachers, so reinforcing educational common sense notions. At the same time, it is this age group which is about to go into the work force. Vocational training for them, effectively put over by qualified teachers, is an essential element of the strategy. I would argue that concentrating on this age group is a tactic for ensuring that Further Education schooling is more relevant to the work sphere and more successful in its vocational objectives.

The proposals for the transformation of the colleges and departments of education seek ostensibly to rationalise teacher education. Yet these proposals for their bureaucratic and economic rationalisation may be perceived on the one hand as providing an opportunity to gain greater control over teacher training courses; on the other, they

certainly are an attempt to remove the University Institutes from their dominating position in relation to the colleges. The way this is to be done is to coordinate teacher training, giving it a common general structure, with Colleges and Institutes of Education becoming centres for inservice professional work. This would clearly mean radically changing these institutions and their functions. These plans would depend on a network of 'centres' (para. 2.9) and the

> "existing professional institutions (colleges and departments of education) would normally include the functions of professional centres ..." (para. 2.9)

Within the overall plans for rationalisation then, the colleges and institutes of education would take over the inservice courses, although they would also have responsibilities for the first year of the second cycle (initial training) and for first cycle work (personal development).

Certainly this appears to be an attempt to provide more equal status for the colleges but, at the same time, the authors are seeking to imprint their perceptions on what these activities would involve. The potential for extended state control is evident in these proposals for rationalisation. For example, these centres would be involved with both practical and theoretical activity. Being equipped to give practical expertise is noted first, for the centres would be concerned with 'learning and teaching' or with 'curriculum development' (para. 2.9). More theoretical aspects are then outlined. The centres

> "... would act as channels for interpreting the results of educational research and, in some cases would conduct research themselves." (para. 2.9).

Again I would argue that traditional assumptions concerning the

nature of practical and theoretical work hold good. For the mass there would be an emphasis on 'learning and teaching', then 'curriculum development'. Only second, do we move on to the more intellectually demanding research. Even then, it is only 'in some cases' when students would be involved with research themselves. One is suspicious of the efforts to emphasise practical skills at the expense of more critical ones.

What is more, the administration of the inservice cycle needs to be coordinated:

> "The administration and financing of third cycle facilities on the scale suggested here would need to be well-planned and coordinated." (para. 2.37)

Requirements would have to be identified, priorities assessed and programmes devised. Using a rational discourse, the authors argue for administrative centralisation. In addition in the name of coordination and rationalisation, the centres would be designated 'for particular purposes', by their 'proposed regional agencies' and their 'coordinating national body' (para. 2.32). Growing centralisation, and its potential for subsequent control, are apparent firstly in terms of the proposals for standards to be 'laid down by regional bodies', and also in terms of 'staffing, facilities and other resources' (para. 2.33). Secondly, I would argue, it can be observed in the proposals for extending and developing the administration of inservice work with its implications of standardisation.

Besides this emphasis on rationalisation and centralisation which, I argue, holds potential for the state to extend its control, other contradictions as I have suggested are not far beneath the

surface. The theory - practice contradiction, as I have suggested, could be traced in the work of the proposed centres . It is also reflected in the proposals for the staffing of these centres . Staff are to include college and university lecturers, who have intellectual expertise on the one hand, while experienced teachers are to provide practical help on the other. Such a division underpinning the proposals are important in terms of the inservice structure which is envisaged. A hierarchy of courses is implied, with its hierarchical perceptions of the teaching profession. More theoretical work, more highly qualified staff for the few, suggests elitist assumptions. For the mass of ordinary teachers practical activities are what are considered important.

Second Cycle: Initial Training:

Chapter 3 of James Report

The second cycle of the Report is concerned with the initial professional training of teachers. What is important about the proposals is that the authors seek to set up a common general structure of professional training for all teachers, taking the form of a two year course of pre-service higher education plus a two year course of professional training, a four year period in all. At the same time the Report seeks to establish professional education as an entity in itself, separate from first cycle higher education.

Theorising a beginning

Specific problems are quickly located in the discourse, for the background has very largely been established in chapters 1 and 2. Key issues however are reinforced quite briefly at this point. Firstly students, it is felt, have to complete successfully the first cycle , i.e. pre-service higher education, before being accepted for teacher training (para. 3.1). The emphasis on the need for successful performance in personal education is no doubt a response to growing concern about the quality of teacher performance. This proposal seems to suggest that 'the implicit standards of a key profession' (para. 3.1) are an important facet of this Report. The background to the second problem has also been given in general terms, so the problem is quickly identified as residing in a situation whereby two major routes are available to those wishing to become teachers, i.e. via university and college. The authors assert:

> "the time has come to abandon the formal distinctions between the two main types..." (para. 3.1)

The third 'problem', the need for career-long education, is the subject of chapter 2 of the Report, nevertheless the authors' stance is reinforced authoritatively once more. Their strategy here is to draw on the readers' acquiescence to this issue which they hope to have already gained, in embryo, by privileging them to 'understand' that changes occur, quite naturally, and that responses must be made. Common sense, it is intimated, tells us that education should be flexible in its response to these changes:

> "... no teachers can in a relatively short, or even an unrealistically long, period at the beginning of his career, be equipped for all the responsibilities he is going to face". (para. 3.1)

The important stereotype 'responsibilities' is used to add a challenging, progressive tone to the discourse which then brings the reader more sharply into the real world, with perhaps even a hint at the changing economic structure and functioning of society:

> "This familiar truth has been given a disturbingly sharper edge in a world of rapidly developing social and cultural change". (para. 3.1)

As I have already suggested, despite the progressive and enlightened discourse, the issue is arguably concerned with control and expenditure. Inservice training may serve as a means of extending control by providing an opportunity for teachers to adapt to new forms of professional socialisation patterns over time. It can also prove to be a less expensive means of manpower planning, by ensuring the possibility of transfer of staff within the system from overstaffed to understaffed areas. But common sense stereotypes, such as 'flexibility' and 'adaptation' provide a suitable educationally progressive discourse, designed to engage the attention of the anticipated readers, i.e. those concerned with having to put such proposals into effect, for these are terms the understanding of which we all share.

This then is the general pattern of thinking to which the authors want their readers to respond. The focus has carefully been narrowed to identify these three problems in relation to the second cycle and it is developments out of these problems, which the authors are going to pursue. The legitimation of their selection of problems is done by reference to the 'evidence produced for this enquiry' (para. 3.2), thus giving intimations of scientifically authenticated reasons for their choices. Difficulties in relation to these problems are then identified, fairly arbitrarily, as stemming from the present concurrent pattern of training in the colleges (para. 3.2). Establishing themselves as judicious and fair minded, an important tactic drawn from Burton and Carlen's framework,[24] the authors point to two opposing sets of opinion, arguing that this kind of training '... has been both vigorously attacked and stoutly defended' (para. 3.2). Reinforcing their position as objective and unbiased the authors take a neutral stance, but carefully show the option which they prefer:

> "Objective study of the facts leads inescapably to the conclusion that while there are great virtues in the present pattern, there are also a number of serious weaknesses".

Thus we note the 'objective study of the facts', with which the authors reinforce their alleged impartiality and from which the authors implicitly claim their unbiased authority with which to speak. This manoeuvre involves a rapid narrowing of the focus.

The struggle for control over teacher education and training which, I have suggested, is an important aspect underpinning this Report, is formulated as a concern with the problem of the concurrent pattern of teacher education and training. In this way contemporary weaknesses are seen as symptoms of 'structural inadequacies'. It can

be argued that the authors are seeking to deflect potential criticism which could be aimed at the state, by ensuring that weaknesses are attributed to the more neutral 'structure', rather than to other issues which might involve greater tension. If the structure were adequate once, it implies, it no longer meets with contemporary economic and social requirements. Hence it must be adjusted or preferably changed. So the dual structure becomes the focus rather than, for example, the 'incompetence in its administration of operation', (para. 3.2), which might well be an important source of weakness as well as providing a threatening situation for those involved. It is also possible to look at this from another point of view. It is evident that the colleges were the weaker 'link in the chain' of the then contemporary structure of teacher education; the universities were strong by contrast. If there was to be rationalisation of teacher education, it was in the colleges that changes would have to be made. Resistance in the other quarter would be likely to prove too disruptive. Therefore, I would argue, the colleges and the system of teacher education which they embody become subjects for attack.

Structuring an argument

Having established the significant origin of the problem by this brief but apposite history, the authors are now in a position to structure their arguments, which determine the central issues to be addressed.[25]

The theory - practice dichotomy underpins the discourse, spear-heading the argument to demolish the system of concurrent teacher education. Blame tends to fall on the colleges' failure to coordinate and clarify the dual set of objectives, those of personal and

professional education. Indeed, the authors suggest that concurrent teacher education 'suffers from a conflict and confusion of objectives' (para. 3.2). The division between personal education and professional training is contrasted, emphasising purported inherent difficulties for the colleges who have to cope with both at the same time (para. 3.2). It portrays the situation as one of conflict. I would argue that this reinforces traditional perceptions in education, as do the ultimate proposals for separate personal and professional training. But the strategy employed here is to highlight the difficulties inherent in the concurrent system and to 'play down' the advantages.

However, this is the beginning of a tautological discourse, paving the way for the Report's second cycle proposals. Limits have already been drawn around the way in which the problem is to be considered. Simultaneous personal and professional education are to be perceived as being at the root of the problem. What is important about this is that, if this is so, then it is clearly capable of being resolved. Discussion thus opens up around this issue. I do not believe there is any real analysis of the problems of teacher education, at this point, problems which are likely to relate to changing objectives in education and to the teacher's changing role in society in terms, for example, of mass education or changing social and economic patterns. Readers are imbued with a 'cosy' view of educational change, i.e. a change in structure will 'cure all ills'. Not that James's proposals for structural changes were received enthusiastically for they involved radical changes for the colleges. By cosy I mean that something concrete like changes in structure were clearly perceived manoeuvres, which could be quantitatively grasped. Qualitative alterations were not emphasised. It was assumed they would automatically follow the

proposed changes in structure.

The argument around the theory - practice issue is extended also to the intellectual - professional problem, which is deemed to arise because of the contrasting expectations within the colleges. This is identified as being at the root of the problem :

> "Lecturers appointed for their qualifications, ability and teaching skill in an academic discipline may ... have to take responsibility for the professional preparation of teachers of young children". (para. 3.2)

There is no mistaking the tone of unacceptability of such a strategy in the eyes of the authors. 'The conflict between education and training' (para. 3.5), to be found in contemporary teacher education then, is identified as the source of the difficulties. But this is exacerbated, the authors argue, by other factors such as 'the poverty of inservice training' and 'the unrealistic width of subject and other offerings' in the colleges (para. 3.5). The authors take this latter point further to reinforce their argument against the current nature of the college course. Difficulties have arisen as well, in their view, because the colleges have provided this wide range of subjects without being able to 'commit to them adequate resources' (para. 3.3). So different discourses are employed to demote the dual character of this course. Firstly it is challenged on the level of difficulties stemming from contrasting expectations and objectives. This is reinforced by an efficiency discourse which perceives the purported problems as arising from too wide a range of subjects inadequately resourced.

However, the authors do not demote the college course alone. The university course is equally under fire and criticisms are levelled

against it on similar grounds. A practical discourse suggests that university courses have failed to develop effective classroom skills amongst their students. What might be defined even as an anti-intellectual discourse draws out the point that 'many courses place too much emphasis on educational theory' (para. 3.6) and this takes place

> "... at the expense of adequate preparation for students' responsibilities in their first professional arrangements". (para. 3.6)

This is the kernel of the criticism of college courses also, but seems much less clearly expressed in this regard. However, what is important is the key phase '... at the expense of adequate preparation ...'. The practical or applied aspect of such courses, it is suggested, has been displaced by this over-emphasis on theory. The tone is clear and the readers are, in this way, given directions for reading further. The theory - practice issue emerges again as the authors seek to show that the current systems, both college and university, are not efficient in developing the desired practical classroom skills. At the same time, however a kind of fraternal critique takes over, suggesting that, by contrast, 'the theory is irreproachable' (para. 3.8) thus to some extent mitigating the effect of the criticism.

Having established the major issue as one rooted in the theory - practice contradiction, perhaps more specifically in the education - training dichotomy, and having judiciously weighted the practice or training side of the issue, the authors extend their argument with an increasing emphasis on practice. Not only is the proposed new programme to form a major, and separate, part of the teacher education course for all, but the learning of skills is to be a

crucial part of the probationary year also, for the young teacher needs 'to mature his style' (para. 3.8) under expert guidance. Additionally he needs 'to relate the theory' he has mastered to the 'practice' in which he is now involved' (para. 3.8). By implication this has not been effectively done within the present structures.

It is surprising that the proposed structural separation of 'personal' and 'practical' teacher education comes to be seen as a better way of bringing the 'practical' and 'theoretical' aspects together. Had the readers not received such clear 'directions' as to how to read, this might have become a serious difficulty for the authors. As it is they are able to move along rapidly towards 'resolving' their 'problem', i.e. proposing a separation of these two, structurally.

But first, they extend the 'practice - theory' issue a little further, highlighting the 'practical' approach of the schools, on the one hand, and contrasting it with the 'theoretical' approach of the colleges and universities. The present situation, they feel

> "... reflects an equally alarming gap between the interpretation of the training by colleges and departments on the one hand and schools on the other". (para. 3.9)

A 'fair', 'judicious' discourse then indicates the way in which the authors are prepared to see all points of view. In fact, a kind of 'fraternal critique' is at work too, for it is pointed out that the colleges cannot accept the whole responsibility for the probationary year. However quite naturally , or so it is implied, the school presupposes that the new teacher is fully trained.

Difficulties over 'theory' and 'practice', over 'education' and 'training', over college and school approaches, have been identified

as an important source of the present problems . These, it has been implied, are rooted very largely in the present structure of concurrent training, but what is important is that the techniques for neutralising the problems have been foreshadowed in the way the problems have been posed:

> "The faults are faults of structure and only changes in that structure could permit us to hope for genuine reform". (para. 3.10)

The divisions, the practical problems and other factors collectively produce:

> "... a problem to be solved by changes based on the principles outlined in this report". (para. 3.10)

The contradiction between theory and practice has surfaced in this argument. It is no longer an underlying phenomenon. The authors, I would argue, understandably perhaps since they are in this instance discussing the second cycle , are emphasising the practical element. The tone implies that there has been too much stress on the academic element, to the detriment of the students' capacity to acquire classroom skills.

It is possible to see however, in this shift in emphasis, something of the struggle between two ideological positions. Efficiency in the classroom, which I argue is part of the increasingly important technocratic ideology, again appears to be gaining ground at the expense of the academic ideology traditionally so strong in higher education.

Attempting a resolution

By this, the third stage, proposed in both Burton and Carlen's and

Donald's analytical framework,[26] the boundaries have been quite tightly drawn around the way ahead. A 'deferential', yet would-be impartial tone is created, just the right mix for the forthcoming proposals:

> "... It would be impracticable and improper for us to attempt to prescribe the details of second cycle courses". (para. 3.13)

These, it is suggested, are for the colleges and departments of education themselves. By contrast the Report concerns itself with the underlying principles. The first year of the second cycle, for example,

> "... should be unashamably specialised and functional". (para. 3.14)

The idea that the initial training period should produce a teacher, it is argued, ought to be abandoned. Readers already know that this process is to take place over a much longer period, by means of career-long inservice education. Hence this first year of the second cycle is fairly clearly defined as one in which the student is to be prepared for work within a defined subject, or age-related area. The emphasis is to be upon skill-orientated training. But there is a particular slant to this. Not only is it to be relevant to the classroom, it must 'be apparent to all students' that this is so (para. 3.14).

This notion of relevance, introduced here, I would argue, is indicative of the existence of challenging ideologies in higher education. As I have suggested it can be argued that at this point higher education is in the process of moving away from an élite perception of education, where the authority of scholarship has been to some extent damaged, towards a period in which it is

characterised by consumerism .[27] The notion of relevance to which the authors of the James Report refer, I suggest, is part of this period of uncertainty and struggle in which new ideologies are making themselves felt. Different values are created and appear to be gathering strength. What is proposed for this first year of the second cycle appears to have value, for example, if it can be calculated to provide material help in classroom expertise. In other words it has to provide tangible material returns. The student is to be satisfied if he has learned, for example, ways of maintaining order in the classroom or different methods of imparting linguistic principles to his pupils.

At the same time a democratic discourse offers those whom the authors of the Report perceive as the important readers, i.e. those concerned with teacher education and training, the freedom to make the detailed decisions. In reality of course the authors have removed all opportunity for real decision-making. Choices are to be available but only within the tightly-drawn parameters already laid down within the Report.

While perceptions concerning the content of the first year of the second cycle are discussed, it is possible to trace the undercurrent of the theory - practice dichotomy which continues to play an important part in the discussion, if implicitly. It can be argued that, in this case the 'Other', the important notion drawn from Burton and Carlen's conceptual framework, is the emphasis on theory apparent in the contemporary teacher education courses. This had come to be seen as an over-emphasis on educational theory , i.e. on the disciplines of philosophy, sociology, psychology and history of education. This issue is confronted and is perceived as unsuitable

in the first year of the second cycle training. At one level this manoeuvre may be interpreted as a reaction to the move during the sixties, within teacher education courses, towards the achievement of greater intellectual quality. Such quality was no doubt perceived at the time as lacking amongst college of education route teachers. At another level however this move may be perceived within what might be termed an anti-intellectual context, as a means of actually constraining intellectual thought, or if not actually constraining , then a means of de-emphasising it.

What is important, the Report seems to be saying, is how to teach children effectively in a kind of neutral and perennial situation. It can be deduced then that during this cycle the emphasis is not to fall upon a questioning of what, for example, might be taught at any fundamental level, or upon the development of reflective qualities in the teacher. The 'good' student is going to be the one who can handle the classroom situation, in a way seen as appropriate by the colleges and departments of education, the schools and other agents of the state. All this must surely be a force for conservatism and traditionalism in education, with values emanating from the shop floor i.e. the school.

Clear overall objectives then are provided, leaving little scope for real analysis of the issue:

> "The second cycle should concentrate on perception for work appropriate to a teacher at the beginning of his career rather than in formal courses on 'educational' theory'". (para. 3.16)

To avoid possible criticism of this potentially anti-intellectual stance however the authors court the opposition effectively, in

other words the 'Other' is firmly faced:

> "To make such a statement is to invite the charge of philistinism, of undervaluing the intellectual content of educational studies, of depriving the young teacher of the conceptual framework within which he may integrate his learning and his experience". (para. 3.16)

The authors recognise that their suggestions could be criticised for "... exposing the intellectually under-prepared teacher to a barrage of conflicting advice and practices" (para. 3.16). They recognise too that such objections have force but they negate the argument by suggesting that it is the 'wrong' argument, that the argument in fact

> "... should be about balance and timing rather than about rigidly exclusive alternatives". (para. 3.16)

Having directed the way the argument should be read, the authors pursue the issue tactically. A discourse of flexibility is employed around the argument as the authors point out that they are not entirely opposed to educational studies. It is not a question of history, philosophy, psychology and sociology of education being banished, merely that "their role should be seen as contributory to effective teaching" (para. 3.16). But academic subjects are seen here as being of instrumental value and not as an end in themselves. Again a shift in orientation can be perceived in the underpinning of these statements. Consumerism rather than scholarship influences the criteria for the authors' decisions. It is the applied not the academic aspect which is important.

Furthermore, the study of these disciplines is seen to be of great value, provided it is included in the first cycle studies and in third cycle work. But it is evident that these disciplines are less likely to be

all-pervasive in these instances. In the case of the first cycle inservice work not all students will select to undertake educational studies and, in the case of the third cycle , it is evident that in-service work is to provide many options from which practising teachers may select. Once in this situation it would not be surprising to find that practising teachers were likely to choose practical options e.g. counselling , rather than say further theoretical study, seeing the former as providing a greater opportunity for promotion in their careers. What I am saying is that proposals suggest that such theoretical work is useful but no longer essential core work for all teachers.

By such placing theoretical subjects are really devalued. Bernstein[28] argues that, amongst other factors, educational knowledge is organised in stages with the empirical stage first then theoretical work later. This he believes is one of the factors which helps to give control of knowledge to hierarchically organised groups of professionals, working within stratified institutions. While helping to establish and extend knowledge this process also, he argues, helps to perpetuate particular forms of social control. This has relevance to the issue just discussed.

But the authors of the Report seek still further to devalue education studies as they fit into teacher training courses. With this, the overall status of theoretical work comes under attack from what may be termed an anti-intellectual discourse[29] with its stress on practical skills. They argue,

> "It must be doubted, ... whether such studies, especially if presented through the medium of lecturers to large groups of perplexed students are, in terms of priorities,

> a useful major element of initial training". (para. 3.16) (my underlining)

Some rudimentary introduction, it is suggested, is all that could be given, "... even if some part ... has already been given in the first cycle". (para. 3.16). Thus it is evident that the inclusion of these educational studies within this first cycle is really seen as little more than an 'introduction'. The notion that there are 'large groups of perplexed students' is a subjective statement, well-calculated to influence important readers into taking an unfavourable view. But once more attempting to avoid any possibility of anti-intellectualist charges, the authors, speaking with the authority which has been vested in them, point out that it is not really the importance of these intellectual studies which needs to be challenged but their placement (para. 3.16). Thus the point at issue is cleverly shifted:

> "For most students, reflection is more likely to be illuminating after, not before, the experience of teaching and this is why it would be better ... for the bulk of such studies to be deferred from the second to the third cycle". (para. 3.16)

One can be forgiven for suspecting the motives here but, as already argued at third cycle level, it is likely to reach fewer teachers.

Our attention then has been diverted into acceptable channels for discussion. The unsuitability of educational studies as they stand is perceived in apparently rational terms around the notion not of whether, but where they will occur. As I have suggested, through a developmental discourse the authors have implied that there are stages of what they perceive as suitable study for students and teachers alike. What they have succeeded in doing is dispersing any real challenge to the dismissal of educational studies as part of second cycle work. An epistemology is asserted as it is argued

'... that second cycle training should be both specialised and functional', (para. 3.16), and that educational studies are unlikely to provide 'a useful major element in initial training' (para. 3.16). In this way it becomes clear which elements are seen as fundamental to teacher training and those which are not, in other words, those which are the building bricks of teacher training.

The whole emphasis then of the proposals for the first year of the second cycle, is upon the development of practical classroom skills. The tone remains anti-intellectual with various arguments serving to steer a way through the minefield of potential criticisms:

> "To assert that the emphasis in the second cycle should be upon specialisation is not to fall into the trap of subject-mindedness. Many students entering the second cycle would be more concerned ... with teaching children than with teaching subjects". (para. 3.18) (my emphasis)

Again:

> "... the educational system needs teachers of high ability not only to specialise in the teaching of mathematics or French to pupils of all or most ages but also to work with younger children or with the large numbers of children of secondary school age for whom a subject centred approach may not be appropriate". (para. 3.18) (my emphasis)

Certainly practical experience should, partially at least, provide a basis for the reinforcement and illustration of theoretical studies, but one feels that the predominant objective is to familiarise the student with the teaching situation to the exclusion of all else. One questions a stance which suggests that intending teachers can practise and gain experience only from practical situations. Serious reflection upon what education is, is to be relegated to later inservice work when teachers are perhaps established in their thinking.

The limits of the discourse have thus been set i.e. the almost exclusively practical bias of this first year of the second cycle of work. So has the characteristic tone of the Report, a tone which appears to be balanced, impartial, all-perceiving. The proposals are attempts at resolving the problem . The central 'enigma of the text' has been reformulated. The lack, it can be argued, within the state is a lack of standardisation, co-ordination and control of teacher training. It is reformulated as a concern for life-long teacher education with a practically orientated first year of the initial training period.

From this perspective, it can be argued that the above is part of a political and epistemological manoeuvre to provide the rationale for fundamental changes in liberal-democratic education policy.[30]

By streamlining the system of Higher Education and establishing a second cycle of which this is the first year, it enables the system more effectively and less expensively to root out those who are 'unsuitable' without completing a three year course as so often happens at present. It would allow for easy transfer when specific needs become apparent. The proposals of the first two cycles would enable greater flexibility to allow for transfer between courses thus enabling unsuitable students to pursue other forms of higher education. The proposals for the first year of the second cycle, it can be argued, are part of the overall struggle towards greater economy within higher education by means of rationalisation, while responding to the needs for greater numbers wishing to pursue higher education.

Second year of the 'second cycle'

Proposals for the second year of the second cycle are put forward against this overall background of proposals for the development of practical skills . It was intended that this year should provide a period of school-based training when 'licensed teachers' would work closely with a member of staff in the school, known as a 'professional tutor'. It was suggested that the licensed teacher

> "... should have the support of an experienced colleague and not be expected to take full responsibility for all aspects of the role he will eventually assume". (para. 3.20)

It would be the professional tutor's responsibility to ensure that the licensed teacher received advice and help on a wide range of professional matters concerned with (and these are listed) relations with parents, teachers, H.M.I.'s, L.E.A. officers, governors and managers. But other matters more closely related with his/her job are also given as examples and are perhaps significant of what the authors consider important. They are factors too which, once such proposals are put into effect, are likely to be acted upon. They include

> "... the age range of pupils ..., the social environment, the size of the school, the climate of relationships ... and the subject or specialist interest of the teacher". (para 3.20)

Only last comes any reference to subject or specialist work while by contrast, age range is first. I would suggest that the latter, unlike the former, focuses greater attention on method rather than content . In any event both lists are concerned more with what might be termed public relations or certainly contextual factors, rather than with what the student intends to teach. Once again then I would argue that the ideas held by the authors suggest that their concern

is with the way in which the teacher copes in the classroom, in the school and in the community. Only at the very end of the list do they draw in the idea of subject or specialist interest. Despite the fact that the quality of education was increasingly being criticised, the emphasis was on the teacher's performance, not on his intellectual quality. From this it is easy to deduce the priorities and assumptions of the authors about the weighting of activities in the teacher's role.

Additionally, as I have already suggested earlier, there seems little attempt to provide the licensed teacher with an opportunity to reflect critically on, for example, the way in which the teaching situation is informed by theory.[31] Indeed theory has been very largely rejected in the proposals for the first year of the second cycle, in any case. Nor apparently is there much consideration given, for example, to the conditions, both material and ideological, which serve to determine and shape different models of teaching. What I am arguing is that the authors' perceptions are such that they encourage the ongoing school and classroom situation and the accompanying ideas to predominate, while tending to ignore the development of critical faculties amongst these licensed teachers. Closely related to this is the issue which I have just discussed, concerning the emphasis given in the Report to the factors influencing the way the teacher operates, rather than what he teaches.

In these ways it is possible to argue that the proposals, if implemented, would serve to act as a means of social control, for they would help licensed teachers to accept uncritically '... those skills, attitudes, and dispositional qualities that support the dominant social order'.[32] Thus, while ostensibly providing the licensed teacher with

an increased and broadening opportunity for school-based experience before assuming his role proper, I would argue that, in practice, it takes on a more limiting function. I would suggest that it is likely to ensure the continuance of traditional and accepted routines and associated thinking concerned with schools and classrooms, and to restrict critical or innovative ideas from developing.

Aware of this potential criticism the authors point to the establishment of 'Professional Centres' which,

> "would give licensed teachers both a means of sharing experience with others and a point of reference independent of their schools and the L.E.A.'s employing them". (para. 3.23)

New teachers would be assigned to particular Professional Centres where contact could be made with other teachers. They would be released from their schools 'for at least one fifth of their working time' (para. 3.21). In the event, of course, shortly after the publication of James, serious cuts in expenditure prevented the full implementation of many of these proposals, even if they were to be found acceptable on other grounds. However from the point of view of the Report I would argue that this proposal was a way of facing up to the 'Other' and of mitigating any potential criticisms of their main proposals.

An important contradiction can be traced in the references made to the kind of candidates who would best be admitted to the professional institutions. An anti-intellectual discourse is employed in discussion of the notions of specialised and broader based education. It deals with specialisation in education in such a way as to suggest it is less desirable than the broader emphasis. Regional organisations for example would be able to advise professional institutions on their admissions,

> "... ensuring that the candidates who were accepted were those who would best meet the needs of the schools." (para. 3.26)

The authors satisfy the readers by indicating that those with broader backgrounds are generally most appropriate (para. 3.36). Preference most certainly should not be given to 'holders of university or C.N.A.A. degrees' (para. 3.26). To reinforce their authoritative statement a vague empiricism is invoked: 'all our observation and experience', it is suggested, serves to reinforce the rationality of their statement:

> "... large numbers of teaching posts in secondary as well as primary schools are better filled by teachers whose educational background is broader and less specialised." (para. 3.26) (my emphasis)

Along with this a veiled attack is made on the isolated and specialised nature of teacher education. Those who have undertaken teacher education 'too narrowly specialised and carried on in isolation from students following other courses' might not be accepted in preference to others 'offering the same subjects whose first cycle background was broader' (para. 3.26).

What I am suggesting is that assumptions, antithetical to more traditional élitist perceptions in relation to higher education, are revealed in these statements. This challenge to specialisation, it can be hypothesised, is in reality a challenge to the traditional hegemonic, élitist ideology. In many ways broader based work can be seen as typical of what is perceived as more relevant or vocational education, a manifestation of the new technocratic ideology. After all, most of these teachers will come to be concerned with pupils, who are not candidates for higher education and, 'who are not equipped, motivated, or orientated toward college'.[33] In other words a more

general education relevant to everyday experience, is what most teachers are going to be involved with. It can be argued that education for teachers is perceived therefore as requiring similarly a more relevant, less specialised base.

This notion of specialisation emphasising boundaries between academic subjects has come to be associated with élitist perceptions. It can be claimed that these features help to preserve knowledge but, at the same time, 'they help to preserve particular patterns of social control.'[34] Such an organisation of knowledge, it can be argued, gives power to those who control the processes and the structures. Furthermore, such a system tends to be selective, where some groups have greater advantage than others. With regard to teacher education this emphasis on broader characteristics suggests that, to meet the needs of mass education especially at the secondary stage, teachers increasingly need to exhibit more generalised forms of knowledge. Trow[35] argues that with the onset of mass higher education secondary education becomes, as well as a 'terminal', a 'mass preparatory' system, in much the same way as primary education hitherto. For teachers this implies a shift away from specialisation.

First Cycle: Pre-service Higher Education

Chapter 4 of James Report

Located within references, in my earlier discussion, to concurrent teacher training courses is the issue of the alleged division between two major aspects of teacher education. What is important about this tactic is that, what Burton and Carlen call an apposite history,[36] introduces the problem so that it can be 'managed' subsequently throughout the chapter. There is the question of 'the acquisition of the theoretical and practical expertise comprehended by the study of education' (para. 4.1) on the one hand. On the other, there is the 'personal education' of the student. The division is adroitly reinforced, so that the readers perceive this division as essential and fundamental to the organisation of teacher education. In this way the issue comes to be seen as quite natural, as the real issue which needs to be dealt with.

Theorising a beginning

Having carefully identified this division the authors move on to discuss the notion of first cycle work, i.e., personal education. It soon becomes evident however that it is with personal education in the colleges, rather than in the universities, that they are preoccupied. Since changes are going to be recommended the authors employ a democratic, almost a utopian, discourse, proposing both breadth and depth within the first cycle. In the colleges it

> "should combine the advantages of study in depth with the merits of a more broadly based education". (para. 4.2)

Personal education in the form of degree courses is clearly less to the authors' liking. Their 'weaknesses' are therefore exploited

within the general orientation of the Report. Since career-long education has been made an issue, the alleged failure of the above courses to provide opportunities for continuing education (para. 4.3) is made to appear highly unfavourable , if not reactionary. The authors urge such students therefore to undertake further study on their own. Noticeably though the authors are not at a loss to propose certain examples of what these students might undertake and the examples, I would argue, are significant of the authors' fundamental thinking. Suggestions include applying their subjects or widening their horizons beyond their 'special interests'. In other words, for these degree students to be acceptable , to proceed to professional second cycle courses, they need to broaden or apply their subject expertise, or perhaps include education as part of a joint degree. And what is more, the 'good' student is privileged by the tone of the Report to understand that this is so.

Traditional assumptions about the nature of knowledge however are not totally eclipsed within the authors' discourse. It is clear that broader based education is seen as appropriate for those undergoing primary training and even some concerned with secondary teaching. But more specialised work is apparently thought appropriate for some of those training to teach in secondary schools (para. 4.4). Nevertheless it is in relation to broader based education that a favourable tone is created. Furthermore, where degrees are taken, joint degrees are deemed especially helpful to work in primary schools. But clearly a University or C.N.A.A. degree, while ideal for some, is not 'the most desirable one for all' (para. 4.3). The intended shift from subject-centred to broader based objectives underpinning this argument is, I believe, significant. It has to be argued for and the important readers convinced . Thus a variety of tactics are employed. The

readers are invited to understand that a subject-centred background is not always the most suitable and this is equated by sleight of hand, as it were, with lack of commitment. Graduates for example,

> "... will no doubt seek entry into teaching ... and sometimes in kinds of teaching for which they are fitted neither by their subject-centred education nor by an strongly felt personal interest". (para. 4.3)

The overall stance of the Report ensures that readers are being privileged into sharing this view by the authors' authoritative tone. But in this statement it is possible to perceive the change in the ideological underpinning. Traditional perceptions of higher education would have more usually stressed the importance of specialisation. Here however it is to some extent 'demoted' not just for primary but secondary teaching as well (para. 4.4). The roots of this shift are to be found, I would argue, in the needs of the economy which are perceived in the form of more general educational requirements for the majority of children. Thus it would seem to make sense to suggest that appropriate teachers for the majority of children are those who have broader educational backgrounds. In this sense what is valued in G.C.E. O and A level examinations, normally specialist in nature, is not what is valued in the preparation of certain secondary teachers then, presumably placing their future pupils at some disadvantage. I would argue that this move towards an emphasis on broader education is an important component of 'the new ideological settlement'[37]. By de-emphasising specialisation it can be argued that the James Report retained elements of progressivism although it is probable that at this point the progressive ideology was already becoming residual. By this I mean that it was retained, not because of the progressive notions in themselves, but for the anti-intellectual and skill-oriented character which was closely related to the perceived nature of the economy.

Much more recently however a shift in stance appears to be taking place, a direction markedly different from that to be found a decade or so earlier in the James Report. By the mid-eighties strong pressures are being felt to re-assert the importance of subject knowledge in schools. This is even to be perceived at primary school level:

> "Curriculum content is most clearly described by reference to the body of knowledge and skill associated with a particular subject."[37A]

The curriculum is presented in this paper very largely as subject-orientated, arguably with its concomitant emphasis on acquired skills and knowledge. Additionally, in the document "English from 5 to 16" (December 1984) there is a stress on the need for language to be the sole responsibility of the English Departments in secondary schools, in sharp contrast with the ideas of the Bullock Report.[37B] This view is reinforced further in HMI pamphlets which, while inviting discussion, are introducing similar directions in close accord with the idea of the DES[37C]. I believe this shift shows a marked emphasis on training for ability differentiation for a workforce displaying varied talents. Certainly the residual progressive ideas have been dropped altogether at this point and, it can be argued, the stress has come to be upon knowledge to be acquired, rather than on the broader development of individual critical qualities, with the accompanying wider social and economic implications.

In the early seventies, however, as I have suggested, the direction of the thinking was different. The authors of the James Report were seeking to establish their ideas on the need for a broader based education.

Structuring an argument

To return then to the Report, the authors, having cleared away the 'dead wood', are now free to concentrate upon and elaborate further on what they consider the important issue which, I would argue, is the dichotomy between broader based and specialist education. The argument is pursued,

reformulating and reinforcing the differences but, at the same time, privileging the readers to understand which is preferred by the discourses used and the tone created.

From a range of possible alternatives, the authors have selected this dichotomy as important in relation to this first cycle, concerned with personal education. Their obvious sympathy with intending teachers having diploma rather than degree backgrounds, for example, is apparent. A course leading to the award of a Diploma in Higher Education would, they argue,

> "... be a more appropriate foundation, not only for many teachers in first and middle schools, but also for many of the non-specialist teachers of adolescents who are needed in secondary schools and further Education colleges". (para. 4.4) (my underlining)

But it is possible to re-read this, using the contradiction between schooling for citizenship and schooling for industrial efficiency[38] as a key to understanding and suggest that this serves to reinforce the practical argument still further. Additionally it can be argued that mass secondary education can no longer be selective in its underpinning,[39] in other words, no longer élitist or specialist. Consumer values have come to take precedence, when the value of a course comes to be judged on the basis of practical criteria.

It is possible to suggest that a not dissimilar development can be traced in higher education.[40] Kogan also argues that, as changes in access to higher education occur, changes in expectations and structure result. He points out that as British higher education 'has moved into the mass stage and hovers on the brink of universality, so the power of the academic system has been reduced'.[41] This 'reduction' has been accompanied by a challenge to the authority of scholarship, on the one hand, and the growth of consumerism in education, on the other.

It is not inconceivable to suggest that the return in the eighties to a subject-centred emphasis is, partially at least, a useful strategy for dampening demand for extended education, in this way responding to expenditure constraints. Selective procedures so closely associated with subject-centred education provide a useful means of legitimating the length and type of schooling and ultimately inequality. This is especially the case where vocational criteria serve to reinforce the legitimation.

Stage 3 Attempting a resolution

The way is now open for the authors of the Report to introduce their ideas and proposals concerning the lessening of the isolation of those training to be teachers:

> "... students following courses which may lead to teaching should have the opportunities enjoyed by students in other sectors of higher education of moving in other directions without disadvantage ...". (para. 4.5)

The presence of students proceeding to other careers, it was believed, could end this isolation (para. 4.5).

The tautological aspect of the discourse now becomes apparent as the authors suggest that these proposals lead to one inevitable solution: i.e. they

> "... point towards a consecutive pattern of preparation for teaching". (para. 4.5)

Thus the consecutive pattern already perceived as preferential earlier in the Report, rather than concurrent training, is proposed

and supported by a 'flexible' discourse, aided to some extent by an egalitarian one also.

Nevertheless it needs to become a matter of common sense that proposals for consecutive as opposed to concurrent training are 'best'. After all such a mode of training apparently allows for greater flexibility, and provides a less narrow environment. A democratic discourse suggests that this can only be good for teachers in training. Perhaps a glimpse of the truth can be caught when the 'Other' is confronted i.e. the question of control, this time over teacher supply:

> "... fears are sometimes expressed that the supply of teachers would be at risk if students ... were systematically given the choice of entering careers other than teaching". (para. 4.7)

A flexible democratic discourse however suggests that the above proposals would not inhibit those who were already committed to a career in teaching. It might in fact be the case that those following the two year diploma course, 'with no predisposition towards teaching', might even ultimately come to choose it (para. 4.7).

These proposals for what might be called a proposed rationalisation of teacher education can be seen as providing the state with potential for extending control. At the same time the 'flexibility' possible within the proposed consecutive training allows for easy transfer and potential economies. Fluctuating demand for teachers could be more easily accommodated this way, allowing for less expenditure to be involved. Diversion to and from other courses would make this possible.

An important technique is clearly at work here. The parameters established early on, ensure that only some issues are raised while

others are disregarded. The dichotomy of 'study in depth' and a 'broadly based education' is the one issue which is intermittently raised throughout this chapter. For example, in relation to specific proposals for the structure of the diploma course, the point has to be addressed. The shifting emphasis away from the traditional study in depth involves the question of confronting the 'Other'. A liberal and democratic discourse is therefore employed to establish the tone. This is efficiently done by presenting the merits of each. But the authors are clearly seeking a resolution with regard to first cycle work in the favoured direction which has already become apparent throughout the Report. Yet there is some difficulty, since first cycle work tends to imply 'study in depth'. The solution suggests a synthesis which 'would serve the needs of teachers' (para. 4.8). So, on the one hand, the student is encouraged to pursue his chosen subject(s) in depth. On the other hand a form of general studies should be introduced,

> "... to stimulate individual thought and discussion, to enable the student to realise the kind of problems and experiences that exist in fields outside his own". (para. 4.8)

A democratic discourse ensues ensuring that a judicious, fair-minded approach is communicated, not simply by the fact that both the depth and breadth emphases are presented to the readers, but by the tone which is created too. The student for example will be helped to reflect, by his awareness of 'problems and experiences' in other fields. This discourse is complemented by another progressive discourse manifested in the authors' view that general studies should 'stimulate individual thought'.

Behind this emphasis on general studies the authors' sympathy with breadth of knowledge is clearly visible. It is seen as the other

side of the coin, the antithesis of specialised knowledge. This dichotomy with which the authors of this Report are particularly concerned, is not far removed from the practice - theory dichotomy which, as I have suggested, has surfaced as an important issue throughout this Report and throughout the analysis of the Professional Studies course.

The struggle within this chapter between these two ideological perceptions reveals a more sympathetic emphasis on practice , I would argue. But, as already suggested, the practice - theory dichotomy has wider implications. The Report's discourse, for example, may be seen in terms of the swing towards 'schooling for industrial efficiency' and away from 'schooling for citizenship',[42] a trend continued into the eighties. The argument is usually made in relation to schooling and certainly for teacher education the case is not quite so clear-cut but, I would argue, it is part of this general movement. For example increasing pressure for 'efficiency in education' during the seventies is no doubt a part of this overall picture, as is the trend away from the narrow specialisation of knowledge. Additionally, this overall trend conveys to the intending teacher, by way of what may be termed the 'hidden curriculum', the importance of practical as opposed to theoretical , of general as opposed to specialist knowledge. What I am arguing is that different values come to be implicitly transmitted, different that is from traditionally held values with regard to higher education.

As far as the Report is concerned the proposals are no longer open to question. It is evident that general studies should form an important part of the Diploma course. Thus a liberal discourse proceeds to defuse any possible criticism:

> "The aim of a course in general studies should be to provide stimulus to the student, an incentive to self-education and an attitude of critical awareness".

One of the important aims should be

> "to make good some of the cultural deficiences of those who propose to be teachers of others". (para. 4.10)

So throughout the chapter, both the discourse used and the tone created, serve to ensure that an academic emphasis is perceived as less valuable, certainly than hitherto. This is supported by empirical findings from a number of colleges where tutors 'at present feel themselves frustrated by a false conception of academic responsibilities' (para. 4.11). Indeed, from the reports of some of the A.T.O. reviews, a number of colleges (praiseworthy indeed) had already started 'to break new ground in this way' (para. 4.11) i.e. towards more general education. A progressive discourse shows the way:

> "In the hands of the skilful and enthusiastic teacher (i.e. college tutor) many narrow and irrelevant courses can become vehicles for an authentic general education". (para. 4.11)

Thus while the first cycle is about personal education, it is not the subject orientation and the depth of knowledge of most degree work which are the focus. It is the emphasis on more general education in the first cycle college work, that claims the authors' attention. The orientation and direction of the Report is clear. The ideological struggle is perceptible here in the efforts to displace the more traditional academic values and specialised knowledge.

Closely allied with this is the increasing shift towards a consumer view of education. Relevance becomes a strong issue at this point:

> "... the committed teacher may be helped to see the relevance of either his general or his specific studies to the career he proposes to follow". (para. 4.15)

Examples of relevant studies are revealed. While there is clearly a range of alternatives, the ones selected convey to the reader what the authors see as important or of value . It is interesting to note that philosophy , not sociology or psychology, is selected as 'of great value' for intending teachers (para. 4.15). Can it be that this is seen as a less tarnished area than sociology or psychology, whose importance have been virtually unrivalled hitherto within teacher education courses?

It is clear then that the main emphasis in the examples is on the notion of relevance (para. 4.15), in the sense that value is attributed to any subject provided it is dealt with within the contemporary social context (para. 4.15). It does not appear to have value on its own account. At the same time the bias is anti-intellectual in the stand it makes against subject compartmentalisation :

> "... the teaching of almost any subject ... should be illuminated by some awareness of its relationship to other areas of knowledge and its reference to the social, political, economic, cultural and technological conditions of contemporary society". (para. 4.15)

Another important issue is raised concerning the costs of running the colleges with 'too wide a range of options' and where the organisation was 'a wasteful diffusion of effort' (para. 4.12). While James was published before the onset of expenditure cuts proper, nevertheless there was a growing awareness of the costs of maintaining an ever-extending area of higher education, an awareness which had been making itself felt from the latter part of the sixties. Kogan points to the increasing growth of the university population between

1946 and 1977: 68,000 in 1946 to 275,000 in 1977, while other forms of higher education grew from 70,000 to 400,000 students.[43] Increased expenditure on education rose from £144 million in 1945 to nearly £6,000 million in 1975-76. But even by 1965 a mid-way point, expenditure had risen to £1,115 million. Little wonder therefore that by 1972, the date of publication of James, some concern was being felt, although clearly this was not a significant factor influencing the proposals, only the subsequent implementation or otherwise. So it was only after the publication of James that this really had impact.

The tautological argument now becomes clearer, for the proposals of the Report are for separated personal and professional education. The parameters have established the path to be trodden in the argument and the authors are effectively exploiting this, with their references to 'too wide a range of options' and 'a wasteful diffusion of effort' in relation to subject work in the colleges. Underpinning all of this however, I would argue, is the contradiction to be found in the need to control increasing expenditure in higher education, on the one hand. On the other, is to be found the increasing demand for higher education, alongside public expectations that it will be available for those who require it.

The authors pick their way carefully through these contradictions, by employing well-tried tactics. The malfunction of the state, i.e. its weakness, with regard to providing effective teacher education, is attributed to organisation. In this way criticism, if not negated, is at least mitigated to some extent. An uneconomic 'range of options' is clearly frowned upon and so is a wasteful number of small teaching groups (para. 4.12). By contrast the tone suggests the flexibility

of the Diploma course for 'the future teacher or social worker' (para. 4.13) is what is appropriate. But it is also evident that such an arrangement would provide education more economically.

Clearly a merging of the students and common aspects of a course are likely to prove more economic. Bringing teacher education into the mainstream of higher education is a notion presented within a liberal discourse, but little reference is made to the economic and standardising advantages of these changes to the state.

Finally the authors arrive at the major proposal, concerned with changes in the organisation of teacher education. Potential criticism confronted at this point stems from the argument against concurrent training, the 'Other', in this instance. But this is ably dealt with and deflected by the authors:

> "Given the right kind of teaching, the problem of reconciling the virtues of concurrent and consecutive courses becomes much less formidable..."

In this discourse the important readers are perceived as college tutors, who would have to implement any changes. They are coaxed into sharing the perceptions of the authors about the real importance of the 'right' kind of teaching.

Another weakness of the present concurrent organisation of teacher education is identified authoritatively by the authors who, in their proposals for methods of teaching, use a 'liberal' discourse. This is employed to convey the overall importance of particular methods, of discussion rather than lectures, of seminars or tutorial groups. Once again the fraternal critique is used whereby the malfunction of state institutions, i.e. the colleges, is

attributed to human fallibility. So while the present organisation is under fire, on closer analysis it is human qualities and frailties which are drawn on:

> "Although much of the criticism of the work in the colleges is exaggerated or misconceived, there is no lack of evidence that students, even if not overworked, are overtaught". (para. 4.16)

Clearly this fallibility is due to causes which can be reconciled. What is wrong, in the eyes of the authors is that 'inappropriate standards' have been sought, 'often simply of factual information' (para. 4.16). The authors carefully establish themselves in a position of impartiality and, in this way, are able to pass judgement. The authority which has been bestowed on them, it is implied, prevents them from taking sides. So they are able to assure the readers that 'much of the criticism ... is exaggerated, or misconceived' (para. 4.16). The authoritative tone is resumed:

> "this state of affairs arises ... from the desire to achieve inappropriate standards". (para. 4.16)

and sometimes

> "... also from a compartmental view of the work of a college". (para. 4.16)

Compartmentalisation of knowledge and lecture methods are placed within a discourse which denies them credibility. There is little doubt that inappropriate standards are identified closely with each of these. Certainly compartmentalisation is no longer valued here, as has already been argued, and lectures are normally associated with the transmission of knowledge, a knowledge which is usually specialised and which we know by earlier discourses to be disfavoured.

But we have learnt at the same time that more applied knowledge is valued, as is knowledge embedded within the social context. This is clearly the direction of the thinking.

Finally there is the issue selected by the authors concerned with the rationalisation of teacher education. Since one route for achieving qualified teacher status is perceived as desirable, the discourse employed is egalitarian in tenor. The implication is that there are differences between degree and college Diploma of Higher Education courses, but this does not have to mean difference in status:

> "The distinction means simply that different kinds of teaching, not necessarily related to types of schools or to the ages of children to be taught may require different kinds of preparation". (para. 4.4)

The parameters then have been drawn around the thinking about teacher education. Broader based as opposed to specialised education is favoured and this, I have argued, is closely related to changing economic requirements. At the same time, this is going to be linked with the rationalisation of teacher education, in these first cycle proposals. But closely allied with rationalisation is the process of standardisation and the potential for extended state control.

With regard to the first cycle then it is evident that the problems to which the proposals are a response have been clearly established. For the authors it is a question of organising the first cycle effectively and of justifying and legitimating the proposals against a background of innuendo about faults or

weaknesses in the present system, partly organisational but to some extent a result of human fallibility . It becomes for the authors a question of analysing the faults and of analysing ways of coping with them, within the parameters already drawn up. The proposals for the organisation of teacher education into three cycles have been laid down as the only or real way of going about an improvement. In other words these proposals have become naturalised , i.e. seen to be normal , even inevitable. They are seen as the only real response to the problem.

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Chapter 7. ANALYSIS OF THE BULLOCK REPORT: A LANGUAGE FOR LIFE (1975)

Such a lengthy Report presented difficulties for detailed analysis along the same lines as that already undertaken with the James Report. What seemed especially important about the Report however from the point of view of this research were the sections devoted to teacher education and training. While the chief concern of the Report was with all aspects of teaching the use of English, the emphasis nevertheless fell also on the role of initial and in-service training. Thus while the Bullock Report is primarily concerned with language in education, in a very broad sense, I have selected for analysis predominantly those parts which are specifically appropriate to teacher education.

It is possible to see this Report as occuping a pivotal position historically. On the one hand, assumptions held are of a liberal kind relying on 'the old repertoire of compensatory theory so generative in the Plowden Report'.[1] Bullock goes even further in the sense that intervention in the home background of pre-school children is recommended. But at the same time, other 'newer' assumptions are present also. For example, teachers are identified as an important factor in educational failure. More efficient teaching methods and a means of monitoring standards of attainment in schools are proposed. The assumption here is that standards of efficiency can be raised amongst teachers, that they are not 'currently' sufficiently effective for contemporary requirements. The implication is that teachers are in some way lacking the necessary expertise. That skills should be externally monitored raises yet another important issue, that is the one concerned with control. Certainly I would say that the notion of some potential limitation on teacher autonomy is raised.

I intend to analyse the chapter on teacher education and training along with the 'Introduction' to and the 'Plan' of the Report . These latter seemed an appropriate part to begin since the focus of my analysis is on how issues are defined and established as problems . It is likely that the key to this is set out in the Introduction[2] and in the 'Plan of the Report'.

'Introduction' to Bullock Report (1975)

Theorising a beginning

It is important first for the Report to identify the 'problem' and this is done by a narrative and apposite history. It includes only those aspects which, it is alleged, are the significant origin of the problem:[3]

> "The decision to set up the Committee of Inquiry was announced shortly after the publication of the NFER Report, 'The trend of reading standards'." (p. *xxxi*)

Reading standards then have been identified as a focal point but this is elaborated upon, so that it becomes clear that the authors really perceive the issue much more widely. It is not just a question of reading , but of all language skills ,"within the context of teaching the use of English" (P. *xxxi*). Indeed the focus is identified as ranging from "The growth of language and reading ability in young children to the teaching of English in the secondary school." (P. *xxxi*)

Structuring an argument

But the extent of the wide-ranging concerns almost certainly turn out to be beyond what most readers might have expected:

> "... we (the authors) felt it necessary to begin with the years before a child comes to school and to examine the influence of the home on early language development."(my insertion) (P. *xxxi*).

The extensiveness of such a proposal is quite breathtaking, but the directness and simplicity with which it is asserted, deflects readers from questioning it. At the same time it is possible to deduce from this statement as I have already intimated that the authors are taking a liberal - democratic stance, manifested in the notions of 'compensatory theory', so typical of the Plowden Report and the earlier decade.[4] To extend the focus into the home of the pre-school child, however, is to go much further along these lines than the Plowden Report had done.

What I am arguing is that these compensatory notions, indicative of the liberal-democratic hegemony, still persist at the time of the Bullock Report. It is not however simply the concern with the pre-school child that indicates this, but also the intention of the authors to include a focus upon those leaving school unable to read, and upon "the language problems of children from overseas origin". (P. *xxxi*). I would argue that from the liberal discourse and its concern with home backgrounds or disadvantaged groups the lack or deficiency is identified. The possibility of compensation then appears to rest with early language development in the home or extra linguistic help for older children.

Attempting a resolution

Having established the problem, the authors of the Report are now ready for the third stage of appropriation. The problem has been formulated and reformulated in such a way as to establish it as perfectly understandable. In the argument which follows, while the emphasis is

on reading and language , the focus is shifted to the 'provision of resources' and the 'internal organisation of schools', which

> "... have an important bearing on the development of language and the teaching of reading." (P. *xxxii*)

The authors bear in mind the important readers of the Report, which is addressed "to all who are professionally engaged in education", (P. *xxxii*), as well as "to many who have an interest in it - from parents to publishers" (P. *xxxii*). It is the teachers who will ultimately be called upon to become increasingly more effective in their teaching. Parents and others in their turn will have to be won over. But certainly,

> "If there is one particular group, however who have been in the forefront of our thinking, it is the teachers in the schools". (P. *xxxii*).

It can be argued that this identification of teachers and schools, as an important factor affecting the language development of school children, indicates a significant shift in attitude. I would argue that it is indicative of different assumptions which are being held. Not only are the home backgrounds of certain groups of children seen as deficient , but the authors have identified yet another 'variable', with regard to pupils' success or failure in schools, that is the teachers. What is apparent is that in reality, the competence of teachers is being questioned. But at once we see that these notions provide a potential area for extended state control, with regard to the quality and type of teachers and with regard to the retrenchment in state expenditure:

> "the analysis of teacher failure and the proposals for assessment and monitoring were to prove perfectly suited to a situation where efficient control of public spending had become a major issue..."[5]

Since teachers are about to be criticised, and since the choice of discourse involves a calculation of those readers[6] who are thought by the authors of the Report to be important, it becomes essential to employ specific tactics. As suggested in terms of putting the policies into effect, teachers can be identified as the important members of the institutions in question. A kind of fraternal critique is then employed, as the authors suggest that the first purpose of the Report is to give 'support for them', i.e. the teachers. Various stereotypes are called upon to create an idealist discourse within which their ideas can be introduced: 'the quality of learning', 'the atmosphere of the classroom', and the 'knowledge, intuitions and skill of individual teachers' are all invoked to do this.

The question of concern over standards raised in the initial apposite history is developed further. The Report, it is suggested, is being set up against this background and it is this concern over standards which is of 'great public interest'. In this way parental and other wider concerns are being hinted at, an issue to be taken much further in the Taylor Report. Additionally there is the question of financial stringency, a matter becoming increasingly important during the seventies. This latter, the authors argue, imposes on them 'the need to be realistic' (P. *xxxiii*). The authors raise also the question of changes in teacher training following the publication of the James Report (1972). What all this amounts to is that important keys to the forthcoming proposals are being established. There is the question of embryo concerns with participatory democracy, administrative questions and, very important, the need for control of expenditure. Thus we know that the Report is concerned with considerations other than purely educational ones. The serious introduction of the notion of economic constraints marks a noticeable difference from the James

Report where they were, I would suggest, only marginally introduced. Certainly the Bullock Report is important in the sense that it can be said to be poised significantly between the then prevailing liberal assumptions and the challenging new ideas concerned with efficiency and accountability.[7]

An important tactic is employed to give authority to the authors' assertions. Empiricism is invoked and a democratic tone suggested: the authors have issued, they point out,

> "... a public invitation to anyone interested to submit written evidence..." (P. *xxxiii*)

In this way an image is created of the state as unprejudiced and 'outside' events, thus in a state of impartiality and well able to make judgements.[8] Quantity of evidence is drawn on to give added authority to the authors' subsequent statements. A large sample of primary and secondary schools had been used; a list of sixty-six individuals and fifty-six organisations were invited to present evidence amongst others. This large amount of evidence, it is implied, enables the Committee to be in a better position to make assessments and draw up proposals. Common sense assumptions tell the reader that the evidence is satisfactory and enables them to 'share' the authors' certainty about their findings.

Plan of the Report

Theorising a beginning

The authors claim that the design of the Report reflects "the organic relationship between the various aspects of English". (P. *xxxv*). This suggestion enables the authors to introduce their proposals for the planning of the Report in a perfectly natural way, for it allows the notions of development and continuity to be applied without question as the overriding principles underpinning the planning of the Report. Its design, the authors suggest, is intended "to emphasise the need for continuity in their (i.e. the various aspects of English) development throughout school life" (my insertion (P. *xxxv*).

Structuring an argument

Having initially set out their basic principles, the authors then seek to dismiss other ways of planning the Report; there is to be no separation, for example, of the concepts of language and reading, nor are there to be any rigid primary or secondary sections. It is felt that this would conflict with "the principles that reading, writing, talking and listening should be treated as a unity". (P. *xxxv*). The authors argue that there is a need nevertheless to take certain topics for concentrated attention. Thus it is made to appear self-evident or natural, a useful tactic, that they perceive that a compromise has to be made. But we can be sure that it is only going to be made within the limits that the authors have already established. Thus the chapters of the Report, it is argued, are arranged "to avoid rigid divisions", while allowing for detailed study of certain topics (P. *xxxv*), in this way ensuring a good deal of latitude.

What is important about this little anecdote is that it provides the authors with the means of establishing their priorities. The discussion of the planning is not truly open for 'analysis', merely discussion once the foundations have been laid. And the key to their proposals for this planning lies in the word 'organic' which links closely with the notion of development. Thus within these terms, i.e. notions of development, reading, writing, talking and listening, it is argued, should be treated as a unit. (P. *xxxv*). Furthermore, the notion that there should be continuity across the years is also identified as an important issue.

Attempting a resolution

The authors then lay down their specific proposals. Part I is to be concerned with current attitudes to the teaching of English and is "to examine the question of standards of reading..." (P. *xxxv*). The 'Other' at this point is confronted. The notion of 'standards' is raised. Teachers' competence is to be questioned. Empirical evidence is drawn upon, in the form of a recent NFER survey and other sources, and we are told that this action

> "... ends with a case for a new system of monitoring, national standards of reading and writing". (P. *xxxv*)

Thus it is evident that concern is being felt about 'effective teaching' and that this could be resolved by some form of 'national control' and 'monitoring'. As Finn et al. point out, the Bullock Report is important since, not only are there proposals for intervention within the home but also for intervention within the school.[9] What this signifies is that, while the Report retains elements of the liberal-democratic ideology which had reigned for so long in educational as well as other spheres, proposals for intervention in the schools

implies elements of a new way of thinking, that new pressures are challenging. These are rooted in new notions of efficiency in education or perceptions if you like of market principles. Thus it can be argued that the Bullock Report is the first Education Report to demonstrate a serious questioning of the basic,and hitherto unchallenged, liberal assumptions. Nevertheless I have argued that it is possible to see certain tendencies in this direction emerging in the James Report, although they are much less apparent. And certainly it is with Bullock that these changes are significant and pronounced.

Part Two of the Report, the authors indicate, is concerned with proposals of

> "various measures for improving language development in young children, particularly those from home backgrounds which put them at a disadvantage in certain ways." (P. xxxv)

This leads to Part Three of the Report which, the authors argue, is concerned with reading. However the authors at this point virtually reveal their tactics:

> "Only when it has been determined that reading is secondary to and dependent upon the growth of language competence in the early years is it introduced as a separate topic and this is the subject of Part Three". (P. xxxv)

What they are saying is that Part Two argues successfully the necessity to see their brief in terms of the broader concept of language . Thus Part Three can then elaborate on reading . There seems to be no 'if', no question that this might not work out. It remains simply 'when' this fact has been determined. Once again. this is no real analysis . Where there is discussion . the parameters have already been established.

The second half of Part Three and all of Part Four are concerned by

contrast with the later stages of development, Reading and Literature are to be dealt with in the former, oral or written language in the latter, part. The authors argue that

> "there are thus five consecutive chapters which associate language and reading in the middle and secondary years, covering the age range 7 or 8 to 16 years". (P. *xxxvi*)

Once again, this suggests that the argument is purely supportive, anxious to convince the readers that this is so, rather than being open to question. What I am suggesting also is that this struggle to convince the readers that the authors' perception of their brief, examining concerns with reading in the broadest sense, while on the one hand undoubtedly a sensible educational ploy, may well be interpreted also as an opening for the imposition of extended national monitoring and control. In purely narrow terms, concern with reading would not present the same opportunities for proposed intervention within the schools. As has already been suggested, the Bullock Report was written against a background of public concern over standards . In 1972 the NFER produced a report on trends in reading standards, which implied that standards were falling. Intervention seemed to be one way of establishing a broader area of control over teachers and schools. What it is important to note is that the authors were enquiring into matters far beyond the question of reading techniques.

Part Five is a case in point for it was to examine 'organisational factors', purportedly at any rate with a concern for continuity between primary and secondary schools (P. *xxxvi*). Clearly the notions of cooperation between schools and teachers and the transmission of information, sought in the proposals, with a common policy for reading, suggest greater standardisation and ultimately bureaucratisation. Opportunities for control over the way reading is taught and much

besides is inherent in such proposals.

Part Six follows on quite 'naturally' 'within this organisational framework'.

> "Thus, what is said in Part Six depends upon an acquaintance with what has gone before". (P. *xxxvi*)

This 'natural' unfolding is an important tactic of Government Reports eliciting a potentially unquestioning and uncritical frame of mind in the readers. What is more natural than a consideration of 'special difficulties', with regard to language and reading, and that 'preventative measures in the form of screening and diagnosis' should be proposed,

> "... followed by a consideration of provision for children with reading difficulties in primary and secondary schools." (P. *xxxvi*)

and even for provision to be "... extended into the post-school years". There is an overall concern with difficulties all of which are 'naturalised' into a story of development, continuity, prevention and other remedies.

Parts Seven and Eight deal with the role of books, technological aids and teacher training respectively. The placing of teacher training

> "... in Part Eight is determined by the need to show the range of concerns". (P. *xxxvi*)

which initial and in-service training needs to be concerned with. Once more such considerations, it might be concluded, are made to appear to flow quite easily out of earlier concerns. On the other hand it is possible to suggest that after such a 'rational' introduction, teachers may find themselves less able to challenge the authority of the authors' criticisms effectively.

After analysing the Introduction and Plan of the Report which, I argue, are so vital for revealing the essence of the final outcome of the Report, I selected next the section specifically concerned with teacher education and training, which is relevant to my research. Nevertheless, it is perhaps useful to reiterate those major issues which are going to be developed in the Report, as identified in the Introduction. Language in its broadest sense, pre-school language development in the home, a concern about effective and efficient teachers and a concern over standards, are perhaps the most important. The Plan of the Report points to the priorities as the authors see them, emphasising the notion of the development and teaching of language skills.

Chapter 23 of the Report: Teacher education and training

Theorising a beginning

An apposite history serves to locate the problems, pointing to the supposed origin of the problems;

> "Our Report emerges at a critical and uncertain time in the development of teacher training". (para 23.1).

This immediately raises the questions of why this is a critical and uncertain time and what the implications are. A little narrative is constructed:

> "Our discussions and visits have taken place during what is essentially a transitional period for teacher training. The training of teachers for the future is clear in outline, but not in detail". (para 23.1)

Why is this? Again there follows a little narrative:

> "Following the James Report, the White Paper 'Education: A Framework for Expansion' has established the pattern for the future. This is gradually being put into effect, but aspects of it still await interpretation". (para 23.1)

Changes then have been recommended in the James Report, with the White Paper "Education: A Framework for Expansion", accepting subsequently most of the objectives of the James Report. It was felt that there remained, nevertheless, uncertainty over the institutions' reactions to the recommendations, and the kinds of courses that were likely to develop. Limits then are placed on the recommendations in the Bullock Report.

The 'Other' is then faced as criticism is levelled against the colleges for their failure to give sufficient attention to "language in general" and "reading in particular" (para 23.2). Empirical evidence is drawn upon to give authority to their statement:

> "One after another of the written submissions quoted the experience of young teachers who claimed to have completed their training with only the most cursory attention to the teaching of reading". (para 23.2)

The use of one of the tactics of official discourse then occurs. It is evident that such criticism has been widespread and therefore failure cannot quite be isolated as the exception. Nevertheless, close to this, is the implication that such generalisations are 'unfair to many individual colleges'. After all

> "these are summaries of general tendencies, and it would be a mistake to assume that they apply to all colleges". (para 23.2)

A further tactic follows, i.e. the fraternal critique :

> "It would equally be a mistake to underestimate the efforts that have been and are being made to improve provision..." (para 23.2)

Here the malfunctioning of the colleges is, by implication, attributed to earlier times before one feels the colleges had become enlightened . It suggests that, once its importance had been understood, the colleges had made or were making efforts to give greater attention to the teaching of reading. In such ways criticisms tend to be negated and assimilated into the discourse.

Again empiricism is employed to conjure up the image of the state as unprejudiced and neutral .

> "A good deal of our evidence was received from the colleges themselves and we supplemented this by our visits and our discussions with lecturers, students, and teachers, particularly probationers". (para 23.3)

Having established this neutral stance, the authors then are in a position to point to further areas of criticism. Some colleges, it is

suggested, have given 'surprisingly slight attention' to the teaching of reading, with students receiving little more than a few lectures of an hour's duration. This was exacerbated by the fact that this had often been given only in the first year.

The theory-practice issue emerges, in relation to the question of the 'teaching of reading'. Sometimes there is an emphasis on one, it is argued, at the expense of the other and often the two are not interwoven.

> "Thus there may be a good deal of general discussion about practice but no sound theoretical base". (para 23.3)

Conversely,

> "...students may receive a series of lectures on the theoretical aspects of reading but never have the opportunity to work with children at the relevant point in the course". (para 23.3)

But the thinking and predilection of the authors is apparent in their criticism:

> "students all too rarely get the chance to study an individual child's reading..."

Indeed

> "...within the block teaching practice they may have little opportunity to teach reading at all."

The emphasis is all too evidently on the practical aspects.

The fraternal critique helps mitigate further criticism for colleges, the authors suggest, have made 'significant advances'. They have however made little overall use of technological aids. Thus the authors attribute some success if limited to the colleges, enabling them to negate their criticism to some extent. Where attention is given to the'teaching of reading' the authors argue, it is usually the responsibility of general practitioners who are experienced in

infant, junior or remedial work. Seldom are these strengthened by a colleague who "is well qualified in reading by training and experience" (para 23.3), and there is little attention paid to aspects of reading beyond the critical stages.

Structuring an argument

Having brought the list of shortcomings most insistently to the readers' attention, the authors develop two major arguments. The first turns upon the wide variation in the importance attached to reading and language development in different institutions and the second focuses upon the issue of conflicting claims of the various elements of professional training within the teacher training institutions. These are the real issues about which any proposals for teacher education should be concerned, at least they are the ones established within the limits of the Report.

Once again the theory-practice, or more specifically the academic-practical dichotomy emerges. For a moment we face the 'Other': the charge that the colleges had become too academic (para 23.4) in their search for teacher status and the then perceived ideal role of the teacher in society. The concept of equal opportunity had undoubtedly raised notions about higher levels of academic work becoming quite natural in the schools. The questioning of this ideological underpinning of education resulted, partially at least, from an understanding that such objectives had not been achieved, with the greater part of the population failing to achieve such academic quality. The real problem in the schools was not an over-production of academic individuals, but an over-production of semi-illiterate citizens or, at best, an overall fall in standards.

No longer was it a question of producing teachers for this 'ideal' academic school population, but teachers who could teach children to read and handle language well in their everyday life.

All this relates closely too to the nature of the industrial base of society. While the argument has long prevailed that advancing economic development depends on academically able pupils produced in the school system, this argument has now to some extent been despatched and sights have been lowered. But notions of close links between education and industry remain and appear to be growing once again. Certainly our economic development requires large numbers of citizens equipped with the potential to be skilled workers. It can be argued that the emphasis on the 'teaching of reading' is part of this overall perception of the economic needs of society.

Thus an anecdote ensues:

> "During the past twenty years colleges have given steadily increasing status to 'academic' subjects of study in teacher training". (para 23.4)

This was in line with the Ministry of Education pamphlet of 1957 proposing that the students' personal education should be strengthened. An anti-intellectual discourse is cautiously taken up:

> "The result of this trend has been that these subjects, which can now be studied to degree level, have made major demands on time". (para 23.4)

In short,

> "... there has been a tendency for an emphasis on the 'academic' training of the student to emerge at the expense of the professional element". (para 23.4)

The teacher training course had been lengthened from two to three years during this period (four years in some cases), but despite this the balance between personal and professional education still had not

been restored. Now it is clear where the priorities of the Report lie but in case any doubt remains certain phrases are used to create the 'correct' tone. Academic training has emerged, it is argued, 'at the expense of' the professional element and priority often has gone to psychology, sociology and child development. The failure 'to restore the balance' between personal and professional education can now be perceived as a weakness. Common sense, at least among educationalists, tells us that this is educationally incorrect. 'Education' has developed as an academic subject. But the common sense which we, the readers share with the authors having been privileged into gaining this insight, (yet another tactic), implies its somewhat irrelevant nature. Education,

> "... has not necessarily been directly related to the immediate needs of the beginning teacher". (para 23.4)

With regard specifically to language, the authors argue that,

> "English as a main subject has developed largely as a study of literature, with language occupying a minor role..."

Common sense once more rejects this unfortunate emphasis which has developed. We see that it has been an 'incorrect' development. In this way the tone of the Report reinforces further the above emphasis, enabling the authors to lead into their argument and final resolution of the problem.

The apposite history has drawn attention to particular issues which, it is intended, should be perceived as the real origin of the problem. While appearing as the true origin it is in fact one of a number of possibilities, but is presented by the authors as the only, or the critical one. What this has successfully done is to define the 'legitimate field of criticism'[10] for the remainder of the chapter.

At the same time the authors are anxious to deflect any potential criticism of the schools and thus of the state itself. An important tactic, a kind of fraternal critique is employed to mitigate this criticism. Thus because of increasing disquiet among teachers it is suggested,

> "... there was an attempt to give greater prominence to reading and language". (para 23.5)

However it was the structure which had not made it easy to bring about changes. Thus we know that blame is to be attributed to the very factor that the authors of the Report seek to alter, i.e. the structure of teacher training courses particularly in relation to language. Something of an anti-intellectual discourse serves to point to the inadequacy of the current curriculum of the colleges, in particular curriculum concerned with language. This, it was suggested, had been characterised by many different

> "... sections which call for the detailed study of child development, language development and social constraints, classroom organisation, remedial work, reading,and the practice of teaching". (para 23.5)

This clearly had not gone far enough however, for while the lecturers may understand the relationship between these various features, few students have the same understanding. Something of an authoritative tone enters the discourse, created by an implied empirical backing:

> "Some observers feel that this is because the students lack experience with children before they undertake the theory studies". (para 23.5)

But while this is an important factor, it is

> "... the 'fragmentation' which prevents theory from being linked with practice within a coherent intellectual framework".

Thus the lack is identified. It is the fragmentation brought about by the structure of the college curriculum. Immediately then the resolution is foreshadowed in the early 'theorising of the beginning',

and the answer is perceived as lying in the construction of 'a new type of course' (para 23.5). The limits then have been set on how the problem is to be thought about. It is on the structure and its fragmented nature that the authors are going to focus, but especially on the language element contained within this structure.

Structuring an argument

A rational discourse then is pursued through the empirical sources of evidence which are introduced to construct the essential perspective required. Efforts have been made, it is pointed out, by the colleges "to improve the position of language and reading within the existing framework". (para 23.6) In this way the criticism then is mitigated by a stress on good intentions and experimentation, a familiar tactic of Government Reports. The examples selected of course are of importance for the authors' argument and are likely to have impact on the readers as to what kind of approach is valued, and by implication , which is not. Thus in one college,

> "all students had an introduction to 'language in education' in their first year, and this was linked to a study of reading at first, middle and secondary school levels". (para 23.6)

From this example then it can be deduced that what the authors perceive as important is a study of reading, but not just for 'first school level' but for the later stages of education as well. This ties up with the ideas coming through in the Introduction to the Report, i.e. that the authors have concern with language, not just at the early levels of schooling, but at the later stages as well. Yet other concerns of the Report are identified in the example of this one college, which provided a range of options including,

> "language and communication, language in a multi-racial society and the needs of backward children".

These, I would suggest, imply the need for an emphasis on the practical and applied concerns of language, on the need for developing the skills of language teaching. Indeed a new professional course had been established in this college,

> "... which applied the work to the classroom and gave the students practical experience with small groups of children". (para 23.6)

At the same time these examples serve in many ways to act as blueprints providing an opportunity for perhaps less imaginative tutors to develop work mechanically , basing their ideas closely on the 'letter' rather than the 'spirit' implied by these examples. In this way also scope comes to be restricted. The significance of this, I would suggest, is that it is a subtle way of constraining teachers. It is by way of formulating quite specific ideas about suitable content of teacher education courses, specifically in relation to language but with much wider implications.

Another issue that I perceive arising out of this surrounds the notion of specialisation . The latter, it is implied, is a less than suitable approach. A breakdown in specialisation, by contrast is clearly seen as a means of developing an awareness

> "... of the function and variety in language, using the students' own language as a medium". (para 23.6)

In this discourse, I would suggest that the authors are taking an anti-intellectual stance, with the many ramifications related to the specialisation-integration dichotomy. The notion of specialisation implies the development of expert knowledge, the expert being crucial to the well-being of industrial society. Specialised knowledge then can be seen as specifically relevant to that society,

especially if education is firmly based on the needs of the economy, as I would argue it is. Integrated knowledge, which is treated sympathetically on the other hand, is not. What I am saying is that curricula can be perceived as socially organised,[11] having numerous social and cultural implications. An emphasis on 'integrated courses suggests perhaps that a new role for teachers is being perceived and that, implicitly at least, a move away from expert and to some extent élitist knowledge is seen as appropriate for the contemporary teacher. The vast range of the school population at secondary level suggests that this level of education is increasingly coming to be seen as basic for all. It does not necessarily imply that specialisation is being disposed of, merely that this can be delayed until a later stage in the education process.

I shall not reproduce the details of this course which the authors use as an example, but it is noticeable that the emphasis is upon the practical application of skills in its concern with 'contact with children', 'teachers' questioning and its functions', 'preparation of material to encourage children's talk', 'observations on teaching practice' and so on, in the first year (para 23.6). In the second year whether the course emphasised the primary or secondary age range a stress on applied work, while perhaps not so predominant, nevertheless was still retained, for example,'examination of child language on tape', 'examination of teaching materials and tests', 'practical teaching with a group of children', 'planning of classroom organisation', and so on (para 23.6).

This course then described as one example of 'new' courses being introduced by the colleges, nevertheless serves to identify exactly what the authors perceive as ideal in the new thinking to be

found in the Report. Language is to be emphasised and while there is to be a theoretical basis nevertheless it is the practical experience of language in the schools which, it is implied, needs to be stressed. What I would argue is that this emphasis on practice is not in itself of little value, Clearly experience with practical classroom related activities are required by any intending teacher. What I do suggest is that the emphasis on practice unrelated to a really coherent theoretical framework serves to promote traditional perceptions amongst the students. I would argue that this does not serve to develop critical notions about education, or to develop an ability to think about the place of education in contemporary society. 12

The way these examples are presented too serves a purpose. They point to the efforts made by some colleges to improve the position of language and reading. I would argue that this is part of the overall fraternal critique employed by the authors to negate the criticisms of the schools and to assimilate these criticims into the discourse. Inadequate language teaching then, which may be seen as a malfunction of the education system and through it of the state,is attributed by implication to the system of teacher training. This is mitigated by the stress on those colleges which are seeking to 'improve the position of language and reading' (para 23.6).

The resolution of the problem is once again foreshadowed, firstly with regard to structure :

> "During the past two years some colleges have been looking quite seriously at new course structures involving the unit or module approach..." (para 23.7)

But more important from the point of view of this research, the issue of practice is raised once again:

> "There has also been much discussion in colleges of the problem of giving students adequate practical experience with children..." (para 23.7).

This is an issue that recurs throughout this chapter and, I would argue, takes up the emphasis already made in the James Report. The authors produce a list of certain 'experiments' which colleges have undertaken, once again producing the possibility of stereotypes for the colleges. Such examples include bringing children to the colleges, or getting students to work half a day a week in schools over two terms with a group of pupils for whom they have responsibility (para 23.8). Some colleges had tried out 'simulation exercises', others video recordings and discussion, while yet others had relied on the use of special assignments in the course of normal teaching practices. Clearly this list includes what might be called valued approaches to language work, as seen by the authors, and they particularly emphasise the close association established by many lecturers with teachers at Teachers' Centres (para 23.8). This what may be termed progressive discourse serves to reinforce further the emphasis on, and support for, increased practical experience in teacher education.

The use of progressive stereotypes is valuable for creating the correct tone. Cooperation between colleges and schools is seen as important since

> "... upon it rests the successful integration of theory and practice" (para 23.9)

The way theory is used ensures that it is perceived as something more complex and harder to grasp than practice thus I would argue, embodying even in their argument for increased practical work, implicit elitist common sense perceptions of knowledge, whereby all are seen as capable of undertaking practical work, while theory

is for the selected few. Thus the authors permeate certain developmental notions, putting them forward as 'fact', without analysis. But I would question whether this 'fact' is so. Motives for such an argument may well have other implications:

> "We believe that the student should have early access to practical experience, so that theory will take hold". (my underlining) (para 23.9)

The assumption is being made I would argue, that practice without theory is somehow unbiased, in the sense that it is the better for this. Theory can be applied later. By ensuring practical experience first, I believe the authors are reinforcing a transmission of hegemonic beliefs which are a predominant part of our 'common sense' perceptions.[13]

The stereotype cooperation again serves to extend this practical discourse further. A kind of fraternal critique once again takes place, in the claim that a teacher-tutor has been appointed in a few colleges (para 23.9) thus mitigating potential criticism. This provides an opportunity for "individual in-service training of a cooperative kind" (para 23.9). A favourable discourse ensues reinforcing further the importance of practice :

> "There is room for more enterprises of this kind, which seem to us to hold considerable promise for the development of a productive relationship between theory and practice".

Clearly criticisms of 'over-theoretical' courses are implicitly held. The 'backlash' already to be found earlier in the James Report, against the increasing intellectualisation of teacher education appears to be reinforced in these recommendations.

Attempting a resolution

The source and limits of the discourse have then been set and the appropriate tone created.[14] The lack is a lack of 'practical'

experience for these students and a lack of adequate skills in the teaching of language and reading. The authors argue:

> "We believe it is essential that all teachers in training... should complete satisfactorily a substantial course in language and the teaching of reading" (para 22.10).

Choosing a crucial historical point in the development of teacher education when there is uncertainty with regard to the diversification of courses and the possibilities of establishing unit-based structures, the authors of the Report drive their point home. For them a focus on language and reading is essential and they are well aware of the influence their Report is likely to have at such a time. They argue that,

> "... the most important single factor is the teacher, and therefore, by extension, his initial and continuing professional education." (para 23.10)

In many ways while Bullock takes up part of the recommendation of James concerning the importance of professional education, it does so much more didactically and prescriptively. The authors propose that language should"occupy a central position in teacher training", with "a comprehensive (module) on language" (my insertion) (para 23.11). Despite the discourse which I would in fact call prescriptive the authors, no doubt sensing potential criticism, argue that it is not for them 'to be prescriptive'. While they offer as well two detailed examples of optional units at the end of the chapter, they "are not offered as blueprints" (para 23.12). However, there is no denying that the two examples, which 'differ intentionally in emphasis and approach', draw limits around ideas about possible future courses in teacher training. Indeed the authors argue that their examples outline the scope of the course. Its 'precise nature' and the way it is organised "must rest with the colleges themselves". (para 23.12).

So it is clear that the crucial thinking about the overall direction has been done and that it is for the colleges to work out subsequently the details. This bears a strong resemblance to the CNAA Professional Studies course relationship which I identify in the empirical work in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. The implications of this are that much major decisions are too important to be left to tutors.[15] At the same time, references are made once more to the notions of theory and practice as the authors refer to the need for them to be 'successfully integrated' in such a course. But the main issue is that limits are set by the authors on how the course is to be thought about. Real analysis is discouraged as it would lie beyond the boundaries of the current debate. Discussion is to be on how to implement such courses, and certainly not on whether such courses are needed or desirable for teaching trainees. Nor do they examine alternatives. The tautological argument has served its purpose. It is interesting to note that in the summary of the Bullock Report in the section 'note of dissent' Stuart Froome raises certain points questioning some of the conclusions reached by members of the Committee concerning the nature of the problem[16].

PGCE courses in Education are a second focus of the recommendations. A little narrative introduces the issue. Attention is drawn to the two routes in teacher education and thus implicitly reinforces them. This involves a switch away from James's recommendations for a single teacher training structure, towards an acceptance of the status quo. The narrative points to certain factors, including the expansion of PGCE teaching training. By 1980 it was calculated, "in view of the planned reduction in recruitment to three and four-year courses of training in the colleges" (para 23.13) the annual intake of students to training was likely to be divided between the two routes. Thus reference to cuts in

recruitment to the colleges links broadly with the overall efforts at making cutbacks in education and these are explicitly noticeable here. In the event then, it was forecast that by 1980 the two sources of student intake would be roughly equal. However, what might be termed a hierarchical perception of teacher education is implicitly underlined, while at the same time attention is drawn to ongoing modifications to the 'system':

> "Traditionally the PGCE has trained specialist teachers for grammar schools, and it is true that intending specialists for the various kinds of secondary school form a majority." (para 23.14)

But,

> "... increasing numbers are following P.G.C.E. courses which equip them for other kinds of teaching - in primary or middle schools, for non-specialist teaching in secondary schools." (para 23.14).

Such references, I am saying, draws attention to the dichotomy, university PGCE courses on the one hand and college-based courses on the other. However it is not a simple dichotomy but one involved with status implications. As the currency of accepted 'common sense', we understand that reference to PGCE and grammar schools implies higher status than, for example, reference to 'non-specialist' teaching. Nevertheless we sense in the Introduction and other parts of this Report that the authors are not at one on this. It can be suggested that the authors' tone, with regard to increasing numbers of PGCE students going into teacher education, is less than enthusiastic, ostensibly because the one year course does not allow sufficient time for their training, especially with regard to 'language'. It is perfectly arguable however, that such a course does not allow sufficient time for a firm programme of professional socialisation and control to take place, with less opportunity available for producing the kinds of teachers the state perceives as desirable. This latter (the production

of particular kinds of teachers), it can be argued, is the central pivot of the Report's argument. However the 'Other' as this may be called appears only briefly and the argument here centres upon more 'practical' problems which can be more easily resolved. One form of language provision, for example, cannot be suitable for all (para 21.14). The assumption that two forms of teacher education remain, unlike in James's recommendations, tends to reinforce the state's acceptance of this. Yet there is little doubt that the university route is perceived as less satisfactory. One assumes that the one-route entry would be perceived as more suited to contemporary comprehensive schooling. Yet clearly a dismantling of the structure à la James would prove too expensive in the economic climate of the seventies.

What I would argue about the recommendations concerning PGCE students is that the division between 'theory' and 'practice', emphasised for college route trainees and visible in the earlier James Report, is there also. Once again the stress on 'practice' remains strong, although by no means exclusively so.

P.G.C.E. students, it is recommended, should undertake some language work, although it would need to be much modified in comparison with students following the other 'route'. Language work, it is recommended, requires 'practical' and 'theoretical' emphases although the emphasis will depend on the 'level for which the student is preparing' (para 23.16). 'Traditional' assumptions are clearly being made about the appropriate nature of stages of learning, as has already been discussed, providing strong opposition to 'newer' vocational ideologies. While discussing language work in P.G.C.E. courses the authors also take the opportunity once again, I would argue, to limit the scope of what goes into teacher

education courses. Lists of appropriate courses are drawn up, some with a more theoretical emphasis such as "language as a fundamental instrument in the personal growth of the individual" (para 23.16ii). Other courses have a more practical emphasis, such as "approaches to the teaching of initial reading" and "how a teacher promotes or interferes with learning" (para 23.16). Again, I suggest, these lists include many activities which are the currency of common sense. It is not going to be difficult therefore to gain quite quickly the readers' acquiescence. This privileging of the readers is a most important tactic for transmitting one's ideas. At the same time the list implicitly performs the important task of control.

Even proposals about the way in which these requirements can be met serve a similar purpose. I would argue that it is a short way from suggestions to firm proposals. After one or two suggestions the authors impose their view effectively from a position of authority:

> "The most likely choice will probably be the coordination of work done on language in the different components of the P.G.C.E. course". (para 23.17)

Clearly this is the valued solution and

> "... where this is adopted we believe it should involve team-teaching, with a linguist a member of the team and every member of staff committed to emphasising the underlying unity of language studies" (para 23.17)

Thus the authors raise the desirable emphasis 'coordination':

> "...the lecturers in educational philosophy, psychology and sociology should aim to ensure that their contributions to the students' understanding of language are mutually supportive and reinforcing". (para 23.17)

These should be the "indispensable basis of linguistic awareness". What I call the progressive discourse has effectively been used to promote the authors' ideas on coordination. But the discourse serves another purpose also in that I believe it appears closer to

prescription than suggestion.

At the same time it can be argued that this is an aspect of an anti-intellectual discourse, if we suggest that the emphasis on 'coordination of work', the 'unity of language studies', 'team teaching' across subject barriers, etc. suggest a drawing together rather than a separation of subjects. This is an aspect of the trend in education towards a breakdown in subject areas, which may be linked with attempts to make education more realistic and a part of everyday life. Where the authors point to more theoretical approaches to language, it appears that they are only satisfactory if the emphasis is given to language itself:

> "Sociological and psychological approaches to the study of language are valuable, but only if language as well as social structure is studied, if language as well as developmental psychology is studied" (para 23.17)

Certainly, practical experience remains crucial:

> "Whether a student is preparing to teach science, mathematics, or an arts subject he must have a good grasp of the way children acquire knowledge in his subject" (para 23.17)

What seems important is that a progressive discourse is employed to promote this increasingly strong emphasis on practice: the student

> "... must be trained to assess how far the linguistic structure of his subject ... is grounded in the experience of his pupils" (para 23.17)

He should be

> "placed as closely as possible in contexts that stimulate the kind of teaching he is being trained for" (para 23.17)

What is more natural than this practical experience. As I have suggested the progressive discourse which, I would argue, involves ideas about breaking down subject barriers and giving students classroom

experience, is anti-intellectual in its stance and Donald argues that

> "the increasingly residual ideology of progressivism, is retained for its stress on manual skill and its anti-intellectualism - both important components of the new ideological settlement".[17]

Donald argues that this 'new settlement' emerges to replace the old consensus in education.[18] One of the most important aspects of this for higher education, I would argue, is the shift away from education for the individual's fulfilment or 'citizenship' as Donald calls it, to education for industrial efficiency. At the same time the crisis has evolved also out of constraints within the economy. For teacher education, what is perhaps most important is that this is a period of questioning about the teacher's place in contemporary society.

But apparent also are the traditional assumptions concerning higher education. Theory is for the higher status practitioners, for the older pupils. For P.G.C.E.students, a modified language/reading element had been recommended, however reluctantly, but for post-Diploma students

> "... many of whom are likely to teach in primary schools (this) would leave us with a sense of having compromised too far" (my insertion). (para 23.19)

It is possible to draw from this, not only differences between the two routes, but expectations which are hierarchically different. This of course is not altogether surprising since the university students would have completed three years of training in an academic subject. However it is noticeable that concern is felt by the authors only in the case of the Dip. HE students, who had not undergone a general study of language in the Diploma (para 23.20). No such stipulation applies to university graduates, e.g. maths' graduates, who may very well not have pursued any language study during their three year university course either. Thus it is evident that expectations implicitly held

concerning their ability are different, i.e. the relative abilities of the PCGE and Diploma students.

The hierarchical aspect of the division between the teacher education routes reappears implicitly in the discourse, in relation to recent developments with language courses, showing the retention of traditional perceptions of variable status in education:

> "In the last four or five years there has been some expansion in the provision by universities and polytechnics of courses in linguistics, socio- and psycho-linguistics and reading studies..." (para 23.21)

However

> "the position in colleges of education is still very uneven" (para 23.21)

For the colleges

> "... lecturers appropriately qualified by experience and specialist trainig..." (para 23.21)

would resolve the staffing problem. The emphasis is no longer on high status linguistics in this latter case, but on 'qualified by experience' as well as specialist training. What this shows, I believe, is that different implicit perceptions are held about the quality of the two sets of institutions, and it is evident that the criticism, generally speaking, is spearheaded at the colleges of education. This is emphasised by the authors:

> "In Chapter 1 we referred to evidence which complained of the standards of written English of some college of education students" (para 23.23)

However, what is also important about the authors' comments is that inadequacy relates to the teachers, rather than to the children's home background. The focus in this chapter is on improving teacher education, especially in the colleges:

> "In our view the teachers' competence in all aspects of language should be beyond question. We hope that as entry requirements become more stringent this competence will be more exactingly taken into account (para 23.23).

The importance of this is that the teachers are identified as the crucial variable in school performance. This is a new explanation, lying outside the realms of progressive thinking, so powerful until the early to mid-seventies. The emphasis shifts then on to the performance and skills of the teachers.

But it is not solely in this chapter of the Report that notions of teacher failure are examined. Thus in the chapter on 'Reading', in pointing to the strength and relevance of the experience of exploring poetry, the authors argue that "some of the best lessons" which they saw were those where pupils and teachers were enjoying an exchange of opinions on points of vocabulary, attitude, atmosphere and metaphor". (para 9.24). However they suggest

> "All this leads us back inevitably to the question of a teacher's knowledge of his material. Many schools simply do not have the resources to take this kind of opportunity" (para 9.25)

The 'Other', the criticism of the teacher's performance, is mitigated by the stress on lack of resources, on the difficulty of keeping abreast of the newly published poetry for, often,

> "... the teacher is not aware of much of the work produced in the last two decades" (para 9.25)

This again is the typical tactic, the fraternal critique, where the malfunction is attributed to human fallibility. This is mitigated by the stress on the lack of material resources and the fact that 'we all understand' the difficulties of keeping up-to-date.

In the eyes of the authors where a child's experience of literature is inadequate this failure or lack rests, not solely with an inadequate literary background in the home, but with the teacher in the school. Here we have a new form of criticism appearing in a government report. In school a child should have learned to experience

literature, the Report feels, as something that "will continue to be a part of his life" (para 9.28) and "The power to bring this about lies with the teacher" (para 9.28). Despite the overall criticisms implicit in the text, the 'isolation of failure' as not being 'the rule' is a tactic at work to allay criticism of the schools which if taken to its ultimate conclusion, is in reality a reflection upon the state. Thus the tactic of avoidance of this criticism appears:

> "In outlining some of the difficulties we have inevitably had to be critical of certain approaches which we believe compound them" (para 9.28)

Once again this is followed up quickly by the typical tactic, the 'fraternal critique'. In this, human fallibility again is mitigated by the stress on the good intentions of 'many of the schools we visited', whose work we believe

> "... is representative of the imaginative treatment literature is widely receiving" (para 9.28)

What I am arguing is that the Bullock Report is characterised by a new, (as it then was in 1975), and major kind of explanation. Explanations of failure in language development amongst children are being sought in Education itself. Certainly the Report maintains the currently widespread explanation, in which poor school performance is attributed to the deficiency in the home. But alongside this is a new kind of explanation. Teachers are

> "identified as the crucial vaiable, whose skill in teaching could offer the possibility of longer term success for children otherwise handicapped by environmental factors".[19]

A little discussion ensues. Certainly elements of the old progressive argument remain, providing signs of an ongoing hegemonic strength. There are instances to be found of the former explanation, particularly

in relation to pre-school children. The authors point out that there is

> "... an undeniable relationship between social class and language development". (para 5.4)

Although the authors see social class as a crude indicator nevertheless,

> "what is really at issue is the language environment in which the child grows up and particularly the role played by language in his relationship with his mother". (para 5.4)

An important tactic, the inclusion of evidence , serves to add weight to the argument in the form of Bernstein's 'restricted code' and 'elaborated code' (para 5.6) and further studies by Hess and Shipman (para 5.7) and by Tough (para 5.8)all confirming that

> "... the child from the advantaged background is more likely to be led to use language of a higher order of complexity and greater abstractions". (para 5.8)

Implicit in such comments are the traditional notions of academic superiority related to 'abstraction', all part of the conventional wisdom of common sense of at least educationalists. More ideal stereotypes are used to reinforce this:

> "This is the kind of language that is of particular importance to the forseeing of higher order concepts, in short, to learning in the school situation" (para 5.8)

In the authors' recommendations for the improvement of language skills in children are reiterated clearly the two, arguably, contrasting, sets of explanations:

> "The first consists in helping parents to understand the process of language development in their children and to take part in it". (para 5.10)

The second

> "... renders in the skill and knowledge of the nursery and infant teacher, her measured attention to the child's precise language needs" (para 5.10)

Similarities between the underpinning of the first explanation and those of the Plowden Report are evident. But it can be argued that

'conceptual innovation', characteristic of Plowden, was being

> "... replaced by a much harder set of policy proposals for the implementation of the old theory".[20]

What I am now persistently saying is that the progressive underpinning, to be found in earlier Education Reports is giving place, although certainly not completely, to notions of efficiency of teachers. Teachers' performance has become the object of enquiry. There is little difficulty then in understanding how the focus has come to be on the need to develop effective teaching skills. I accept the criticism of Finn et al., with regard to Bullock. It has lost the imaginative emphasis of Plowden. It is putting forward particular views which despite the authors' protestations, I believe, are intended to be taken as 'blue-prints' for further action in the colleges.

One of the most significant themes of the Bullock Report, I would argue, is the control of teachers and a limitation of their autonomy. While I have not analysed those parts of the Report specifically concerned with recommendations for an agreed policy for each school, and for standards to be externally monitored, I would say that these are the crucial pointers in this direction.

But for that section of the Report concerned with teacher education, which I have been focusing upon, I would suggest that there are significant developments here with regard to control also. Content-wise it is recommended that a substantial course in language in education should be an essential part of a teacher's training. This, it is recommended, should apply to both routes of entry into the teaching profession to varying degrees.

At another level however I would suggest that the constant pressure

on the importance of the practical aspects of language development, provides a subtle way of ensuring that appropriate teachers are produced. What I would argue is that Bullock was trying to bring about change in the classroom and in the kinds of teacher within that classroom. Teachers are identified as crucial to the success of children in school and in that respect, as I have already suggested, this is the significant aspect of this Report. By emphasising the need for teachers well versed in the skills of the classroom, the Rousseauesque, progressive and innovatory ideals come to be perceived as less important. Proficiency, skill and efficiency are notions which take precedence. While Bullock does not find that teachers generally were promoting 'creativity' at the expense of practical skills, this nevertheless remains a crucial feature of the recommendations in this chapter. What teachers need is skill in teaching, but it is skill in teaching language and reading, not in establishing the conditions for creative work amongst their pupils. Thus these are very different kinds of teachers that Bullock has in mind. Control then in this sense is indirect but powerful and, I would suggest, the manifestation of an attempt to shift the focus away from schooling for personal development to schooling for efficiency.

In the chapter on teacher education also, the many examples which are listed about suitable courses, I believe, form a very important element in containing the thinking about teacher education. Examples they may be, but in practice they are providing firm limits on the scope of the colleges to develop courses out of their own initiative.

Perhaps the overall significance of Bullock is that it was published at a time of growing crisis in education and within the economy.

From the point of view of control, the proposals laid down in the Report provided the opportunity for the state to put forward and legitimate its intentions to restrict teachers' autonomy. This enabled education to be taken into the overt political arena and for this to be legitimated because of 'public concern'.

From the point of view of ideologies, I would argue, the new practical bias, which I suggest is being promoted, constantly comes up against older but strong hegemonic perceptions of academic quality. These latter tend to be unconsciously held, but are very firm and the ensuing struggle, I believe, is observable in the way this chapter has been presented.

While the Taylor Report[21] does not deal specifically with teacher education nevertheless it seems appropriate to analyse it, if somewhat briefly. This Report is especially concerned with the question of control in relation to the curriculum of the school and also with the notion of public participation in the management of the school. The notions of accountability and control , to be found in the earlier Bullock Report, I would argue, are continued still further and much more extensively here. The Professional Studies Course, analysed earlier, is concerned with evaluation of an aspect of teaching. I would suggest that this can be seen as part of the accountability movement, in the sense of its concern with the effectiveness of a particular strategy in the classroom. In that sense the Report seems specifically relevant, but its impact is overall much wider in its concern with the position of the teacher in the school.

I selected Chapter 2 for analysis, because I believe it provides some understanding of the tenor of the whole Report, with regard to the major issues concerning 'public participation' and 'control of the curriculum'. I start however with an analysis of the 'Introduction' because of its potential for revealing the important issues to be dealt with.[22]

A New Partnership for our Schools (1977): the Taylor Report

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Report

Theorising a beginning

The first tactic is to locate the problem in the discourse. The Report opens with an apposite history and at the same time an indication of those who are qualified to speak in 'official' language:

> "In the House of Commons on 27 January 1975, the then Secretary of State for Education and Science, Mr Reg Prentice, announced the Government's intention to establish an independent enquiry into the management and government of schools in England." (para. 1.1)

This reference to the Secretary of State evokes an authentic and official tone and the legitimacy of the discourse is further reinforced by reference also to 'the Secretary of State for Wales, Mr John Morris.' What is important about this is that the stress is on the political position that these two men hold, rather than on the two men as individuals. All this is intended to lend credibility to the discourse.

The terms of reference are quickly drawn up and the major issues are made clear to the readers. They include the question of 'the composition and functions of bodies of managers and governors' (para. 1.1). Interested parties are listed and the order in which they are presented has some significance. Certainly some groups are more likely to be concerned with the implementation of these proposals than others. They include bodies of managers and governors, local education authorities, head teachers and staffs of schools, parents and finally the local community. (para 1.1). This order reinforces assumptions concerning the importance the authors attach to these groups of readers, for the implementation of their proposals.

Various discourses are employed to guarantee the impartiality of the authors. For example, it was pointed out that over 400 submissions had been received and that this evidence had been 'of great assistance'. (para. 1.5). Alongside this positivist discourse weaves a democratic discourse as the authors point out that this evidence had been taken 'fully into account in formulating our recommendations'. (para. 1.5). Thus the quality of the forthcoming recommendations is

enhanced in advance. This is no autocratic report, issuing dictates from above ! The readers perceive that information has been taken at 'shop floor' level and therefore the recommendations must be all the more correct because of that.

The next question concerns which other individuals and groups can legitimately contribute to the discourse. All the various interests within the field of education cannot be included, so the authors have to select only some of them. They point out that a wholesale survey of current school managing and governing practice 'would not be helpful', particularly in the light of recent local government reorganisation. In place of that,

> "- a comprehensive study financed by the Department of Education and Science, had been undertaken by the Department of Educational Administration of the University of London Institute of Education from September 1965 to April 1969." (para. 1.7)

and this study, they suggest, is to serve as a 'starting point'. So, it can be seen that a Department of Education and Science instigated study constructs, to all intents and purposes, the fundamental field of debate. To fend off potential criticism however, the authors argue that there is a need to broaden the basis of their Report, by obtaining more 'up to date information'. Thus they decided to carry out a programme of visits 'to selected areas' which would serve 'to throw light on more recent developments' as well as supplementing written evidence. (para. 1.7). As a way of helping to legitimate their ultimate findings, a discourse at once positivist and democratic is again pursued :

> "We greatly valued the opportunity of seeing at first hand something of the arrangements in these areas and of discussing their effectiveness ..." (para. 1.7)

Additionally, the authors seek to examine, 'for comparative purposes',

> "relevant aspects of the government of further education colleges and also different approaches to school government in countries other than England and Wales" (para. 1.8)

In these ways then the extensiveness of the 'evidence' is outlined and implicitly reinforces, in the reader's mind, the basic soundness of the Report.

At the same time it draws on notions of 'participation' which contact with such a variety of sources indicates.

II Structuring an argument

Having set the scene, the 'Other' is confronted quite briefly. The authors point out that their 'deliberations' had coincided with an increase of 'public interest in school management'. One of the chief factors which had contributed to this 'interest' was spelt out:

> "To some extent this can be attributed to the wide publicity given to the events at the William Tyndale Junior School." (para. 1.10)

Reference then is made to one of the 'events' which alongside other developments(a) had served to highlight the possible weaknesses of school management, HMIs and school staffs. In these different ways the authors are drawing attention to the ineffective aspects of education, thus implicitly justifying the state's intervention[23] in the form of this Report.

(a) One understands here the Black Papers, which had stimulated to some extent the 'Great Debate' on Education in 1976.

To avoid serious criticism of education, and thus of the state itself, the authors hasten to add that the 'particular basic issues' raised in the Auld Report[24] had in fact been put before them 'in written evidence and in the course of our area visits'. (para. 1.10). Therefore, it is implied, such 'errors' as had been found would 'quite naturally' have been uncovered in the course of their enquiry in any event. Nevertheless they acknowledge the importance of the William Tyndale affair for they had not

> "- previously found such a concentration of so many of these issues in a single school over such a relatively short period." (para. 1.10)

But an important tactic of 'official discourse' is employed to mitigate still further any serious criticism, i.e. the isolation of failure as the 'exception'. Almost immediately the authors point out that they are satisfied that this 'concentration of incidents in a single school' was 'in many ways exceptional'. (my underlining) (para. 1.10) The 'Other', criticism of the state, then is modified to some extent.

Attempting a Resolution

This stage follows on in such a way as to establish further the general context within which the problems can be resolved. The special qualities and prestige of the 'speaking' individuals have been established. Those who can legitimately contribute towards the evidence have been selected as a 'wide' and 'representative' sample so that the plurality of views can be accommodated within the terms of the debate. But this is not necessarily 'reality' which is reflected in the text, but a reality which has been 'constructed'. The 'problems' are constructed and they are the 'problems' to which the Report is in fact a 'response'.

Drawing the parameters more tightly around the way forward, the authors point to certain assumptions , which underlie their recommendations and which relate to three main areas:

> "- the roles of central and local government in the provision of education, the current debate about devolution of central government functions and the need to avoid justifiable public expenditure." (para. 1.11)

Additionally the authors point to the fact that they had already considered some of the issues which were later highlighted in 'the Prime Minister's speech at Ruskin College in October 1976' (para. 1.12). They were in fact aware

> "- that the specific questions for discussion in this context would be fundamental and would cover the school curriculum, the assessment of standards and the education and training of teachers and school and working life." (para. 1.12).

What this discourse serves to do is to identify and reinforce issues which are an important part of the subsequent Report and to justify their inclusion in it. In response to the Committee's expressed concern over possible changes in the relationship between local and central government which might 'radically affect' the work of the Committee, the Department of Education and Science had sent a 'reassuring' letter, but one which I claim was perhaps especially revealing. One aspect of the 'Other', i.e. the need for increased control over education, is briefly glimpsed, I believe, in the government's statement:

> "There is no question of the government contemplating the introduction of a detailed central control of the school curriculum which would deny teachers reasonable flexibility or diminish the contribution which local education authorities and the managers or governors should make to the conduct of the schools." (para. 1.12)

Despitethese assurances doubts, I would argue, remain but the 'tone' is nicely balanced by the 'stereotype ; 'flexibility' modifying the notion of 'central control'.

The Department of Education and Science did not provide such assurances however regarding the continuation of the 'present' structure of local government. (Para. 1.13). The solution for the Report was, according to the Department of Education and Science, to ensure 'flexible' arrangements. Once again the 'Other' is briefly confronted here, i.e. possible changes in the government of education and its accompanying changes in power. Moves towards centralisation, it can be argued, are part of the restructuring of capitalist society, as industry becomes characterised increasingly by monopoly capital. Donald argues that this involves the "'functionalisation' of education for capital (through centralisation of power, standardisation, and so forth)."[26] Uncertainty about the government of education remains an area of tension.

Finally, another aspect of the 'Other' is confronted, i.e. the notion of economic stringency and control of educational finances. The authors argue:

> "We have assumed that the country's present economic circumstances requires us to make proposals which are realistic and which, in particular, involve the maximum use of existing facilities and resources." (para. 3.14)

The authors 'hope' that 'a new and improved system of school government' can be introduced 'without any large, sudden increase in public expenditure.' (Para. 1.14). Here we have two important facets of the 'Other' drawn together: potential centralisation of control and the need for economic constraints. These are important keys to the forthcoming proposals.

In the Introduction to the Report a number of factors then have been established. The problem has been located. The legitimacy of the

discourse has been established by the reference to those who are speaking , who have the right and the prestige to speak the truth with authority, e.g. the Secretary of State. At the same time those groups and individuals who can legitimately contribute to the discourse are introduced, while aspects of the 'Other' are confronted in the assumptions held by the authors of the Report about the way they are to approach their enquiry. The scene is set for the subsequent recommendations of the Report.

Chapter 2 of the Report : Present Arrangments for School Government

Theorising a beginning

An apposite history introduces the problem in relation to school government:

> "The Education Act 1944 requires every maintained school to have a body of governors (in the case of a secondary school) or managers in the case of a primary school" (para. 2.2)

The Education Act of 1944 then is to provide the foundation for subsequent discussion, providing the parameters for the field of debate.

The authors point, amongst other things, to certain 'requirements' which the Act stipulates, concerning the Local Education Authorities who should possess 'a wide discretion' with regard to the constitution of these managing and governing bodies. From the point of view of this research, perhaps the most important responsibilities they are concerned

with are related to 'the internal organisation and curriculum' and 'finance'. (para. 2.4). The Local Education Authorities then are identified as holding a powerful position with regard to school government and the issue of who holds the power is clearly going to be central to this argument.

The first stage of the tautological argument, which is the overriding tactic of the organisation of Government Reports, is introduced within what may be termed an 'ideal' discourse, when well intentioned objectives are expressed. But they are 'tell-tale' comments. From official reports and parliamentary debates, it is argued,

> "it might have been expected that each school would have associated with it a body of interested and informed men and women, concerned with it as an individual institution ..." (para. 2.5)

Furthermore, the specific identity of certain members comes through in the authors' intepretation of what the 1944 Act 'really means':

> "- it would have been reasonable to assume that ... there would be some representing the local education authority ..., some appointed or coopted by reason of their educational or other qualifications, and some who could represent the interests of parents, of teachers and of the community in general." (para. 2.5)

Thus we implicitly know in their ideal, democratic discourse, what are going to be the objectives, loosely, of the authors of the Report, with regard to managing/governing bodies. But the discourse moves from the 'constitution' of the bodies to their 'function', preserving the same tactic;

> "It would also have been reasonable to assume that a governing body ... would share with the local education authority and its officers, and with the head of the school, responsibilities for the making of appointments, for the general direction of the

> conduct and curriculum of the school, for the preparation of estimates and for representing the school in issues of importance." (para. 2.5)

From such an introduction the problems have been identified. We sense now what is wrong with the contemporary situation and, more important, ideas are beginning to emerge, albeit hidden at this point, concerning how this problem can be put right . Weakness clearly is seen to lie in these very two factors, the structure and functioning of these bodies, but blame cannot be truly attached to the 1944 Act, for 'we might have expected' this list of 'expectations' to have 'occurred' when put into practice. But they had not done so. Something therefore must have gone wrong in the implementation . The Act itself then is absolved of blame in this way.

A further tactic is revealed, if implicitly. After all from the tone of the discourse it is evident that we all, that is those of us who 'know', understand that this is what the Act really means . This tactic, the 'privileging of the authors and readers'[27] is ensured by sharing the formers' perceptions to be found in the quotation above (2.5). They are introduced as if to suggest that the above summary, while made by the authors, is just as likely to have been made by the readers:

> "... it is useful to summarise the impression likely to have been gained from a study of official reports and parliamentary debates ... and the common connotations of a term such as 'governing body'." (para. 2.5)

Empirical evidence is quoted in the form of a research study by Baron and Howell (1965-9) (para. 2.6) to give additional emphasis and authenticity to the fact that these 'expectations' were not being met:

> "There was little evidence to show that, at the time of the study the standard provision in the articles that 'the governors shall have the general direction of the conduct

> and curriculum of the school' was taken seriously."
> (para. 2.9)

In these ways the specific problem is identified i.e. the question of control over the 'conduct' and 'curriculum' of the school. Reasons for this failure are made clear in a fairly matter-of-fact way and the tone is such that it implies that one can understand how this happens. Heads maintained that 'they were entirely responsible for what was taught'. This is clearly common sense for many, but to mitigate any potential criticism, it was added that heads '- kept governors informed of changes of note' (para. 2.9) But additionally, the governors shared this common sense view, feeling 'that the curriculum should be left to the head and his staff'. (para. 2.9). So while the problem remains we can understand how it has happened.

But not only is control by implication too much in the hands of the head and the school, with regard to the conduct of the curriculum, so it is with regard to its financial administration:

> "It was argued that the time factor, the administrative discretion needed by officers and heads, the provision by the local education authorities of equipment and for repairs and maintenance ... all combined to leave governing bodies no role in purely financial matters."
> (para. 2.10) (my underlining)

The 'Other' has been confronted briefly once again. Concern over control of expenditure in education becomes a vital issue and the tone suggests where this should very largely rest.

II Structuring an argument

Having theorised a beginning the authors then attempt to build an argument around the problem. This appears in the form of temporal neutrality so that the construction of what is essentially a perspective

appears as a 'natural emergent out of the past'.[28] The authors argue that in the eight years since the research study was completed,

> "- there have been very significant changes in the context and atmosphere of school government." (para. 2.14)

This is an important key for the forthcoming line of discussion. Hence we as readers may wonder why we have been exposed to the earlier theorising concerning the weaknesses in implementation. However it is evident that it is here in this chapter that the issues have been carefully identified and elaborated and, it may be argued, for a purpose. They have been 'constructed' by the authors to be central to the findings of their Report. These issues, we can hypothesise, belong to the reality of the Report, but it also needs to be borne in mind that this reality is not 'absolute', but is in fact a 'perspective'. Yet in the way the issues have unfolded it appears quite 'natural', an important tactic of official discourse, since the issues have been advanced as arising out of the discrepancy to be found between the proposals and implementation of the 1944 Act.

Subsequent events emerge then out of these 'beginnings'. In the eight years which have elapsed since the research study which the authors are basically using, new forces have emerged:

> "These forces derive on the one hand from the reorganisation of local government and the reorganisation of secondary education..." (para. 2.14)

But the important 'force', one feels, is derived from a

> "-demand for broader participation in educational decision-making which has come from lay and professional people alike." (para. 2.14)

Thus the key phrase, a 'demand for participation' is introduced. It is this to which much of the Report is a response . One of the reasons for this increase in public interest has arisen quite naturally out of the 'reorganisation of secondary education' (para. 2.16) on comprehensive lines. It is common sense that such changes have been 'significant in stimulating interest' in schools, among many people who would otherwise have left the running of the school to local education authorities and teachers. (para. 2.16) Progressive rhetoric abounds: new and 'challenging opportunities have been announced', with 'challenging' providing an excellent stereotype for creating the correct progressive tone.

The argument is then developed by various emphases on the major issue, public participation in the government of schools, but all within the parameters laid down in the earlier part of the chapter:

> "Active public opinion concerning the schools has become an element in the national and local political situation of which parties administrators and teachers have had to take account." (para. 2.16)

Notions of 'public opinion' and 'concern' are raised:

> "Concern expressed itself during the 1960s in the establishment of a number of voluntary organisations, notably the Advisory Centre for Education." (para. 2.17)

While the Confederation for the Advancement of State Education, (with its quarterly newsletter 'Parents and Schools'),

> "- early saw managing and governing bodies as one of the means by which they could achieve the ends they had set themselves." (para. 2.17)

Elements such as these lead the authors to argue that the issue of the managing and governing bodies of schools is today raised more frequently, 'after long years of neglect'. Thus not only are

voluntary organisations querying these bodies and their function in relation to the schools, but the issue appears to have 'become an object of more frequent and widespread discussion'. Moreover, the criticisms have reached the ultimate purveyor of 'new' and common sense thinking, the general press! In these ways the issue has succeeded in claiming 'the attention of parliamentarians'. Such is the 'history' through which we are introduced to the main problems of the Report.

So we can see how this gradual unfolding of events produces the problems to which the state must respond . Now that the problems are thoroughly situated both in history and theory the way is open for the third stage of appropriation in which they can be negated.

This natural process of change has been at work, an important tactic of official discourse . However, to drive their points home, the authors are much more specific about the way forward. At 'present' we are in a period of transition .

> "The situation which we found when we began work in May 1975 was one of transition." (para. 2.18)

The 'formal framework of instruments, rules and articles was the same as six years earlier' and 'many of the practices then noted still continued', (para. 2.18), although changes had been made in some authorities. (para. 2.19).

At the time of the research study, 1965-69, on which many of the authors' ideas are allegedly based, 'teacher representation on the governing bodies was still more infrequent than parental representation'. (para. 2.22).

III Attempting a resolution

The techniques for neutralising the problems have been foreshadowed then in the way that they have been posed, largely as the result of natural change. But they have also been posed in a way that allows for the problem to be resolved. The authors argue,

> "By and large it is in the structure and composition of managing and governing bodies that change has been most marked in recent years." (para. 2.23)

What then is the problem? It rests with the fact that the,

> "redefinition of function has not proceeded at the same pace." (para. 2.23)

The problem is then developed further within the parameters which have already been carefully defined. Certain changes which have occurred, such as the Report favours, are made to appear to involve 'improvements' in function:

> "It would seem that where individual governing bodies have replaced large groups there is a greater involvement by governors in the making of appointments." (para. 2.23).

Common sense then proceeds to tell us that the affairs of each school should 'necessarily' receive 'more detailed attention'. The word 'necessarily' smoothes over the sleight-of-hand statement in such a way as to create a logic which is not essentially supported by reason. Common sense, that curiously irrational phenomenon however supports it.

It is not just a question of changes in the functioning of governing bodies which have lagged behind the changing structure. However, it is a question of 'specific changes' in function which the authors are about to identify. What changes are these? What consequences will they

have? A narrative is constructed:

> "- there are few indications that governors have gained any real financial powers ... it is the head rather than the governors who makes the effective decisions." (para. 2.23)

At once we are clear that concern rests with control over expenditure decisions, where there is 'freedom of resource allocation at school level'. (para. 2.23).

What is more,

> "There is little evidence that governors have in the last ten years exercised a significant influence on what is taught in the schools or in the methods used, and the governors' power over the direction of the school curriculum remains in general a dead letter."

Here is the second and crucial issue with which the Report is to be concerned; that is the control of the school curriculum and, what is more, the accompanying 'methods'. There is little doubt as to the importance attached to the latter issue. A certain autocracy in relation to head teachers is implied:

> "Certainly in the course of our visits there was rarely any challenge to the convention that, with few exceptions, these territories are the preserve of heads and teachers alone." (para. 2.23).

The phrase 'the Tyndale case' is slipped in and clearly emphasises the direction of the Report's thinking and gives rise to tremors of doubt about the current system of education. Nevertheless implications are that, against the disturbing events at the W. Tyndale School, changes need to be made. Added to this the judicious tone is further reinforced by the manner in which the control of heads and teachers over the curriculum and accompanying methods, is presented.

A democratic discourse, if you like, suggests that something

is wrong with control of the curriculum being the sole preserve of heads and teachers. By implication a wider and more broadly based committee suggests greater democracy embodying an appeal, I would argue, to the wider public for its support, which can also be perceived as an attempt to extend more widely control by consent . The way however is now open for proposals along these lines in subsequent chapters.

Wider social implications

It can be argued however that participation has a hegemonic purpose . Donald suggests that the tactic of accountability is perceived as crucial for securing consent, on the one hand, while imposing control, on the other.[29] The notion of accountability is not here concerned with participation in the sense of individuals and groups being involved in an open planning process, with public hearings etc. It is a somewhat ambivalent term, suggesting financial accountability to the Treasury, public accountability to 'consumers', i.e. parents, employers etc. Thus what is an apparent contradiction in terms, is in fact more comprehensible if seen in this light, if it is seen in terms of being a vehicle for increased central control. This way, the notion of accountability makes use of procedures which are apparently democratic while at the same time serving to coerce those involved into conforming with a particular strategy. Thus it can be argued that the calls for increasing public participation in education seen here in the Taylor Report are an aspect of this.

Similar views prevail. Elliott argues that the strategy of public accountability is used for transferrring power over educational decision-making from teachers and the school, to the state:

> "The idea which is increasingly used to justify this transference of power from the professionals to the state is that of 'public accountability'."30

Atkin suggests on the other hand that the 'accountability movement' has been claimed to have its root in two factors, economic decline on the one hand and the growth of 'value pluralism', with regards to aims and purposes of education,[31] on the other.

House believes that the accountability movement means that the most powerful interest groups have more say, to the exclusion of minority groups. It in no way reflects authentic social consensus[32].

Accounting to a variety of interest groups in a local sense is quite different from accounting to some bureaucratic, external monitoring agency. The term accountability, if mentioned as such, tends not to be defined and often is assumed to mean the latter. Certainly accountability has broader implications than is perhaps at first apparent. Seen in this light the democratic intimations of accountability are less clear and appear much closer to the notion of control. Taylor nevertheless sought to establish a very representative governing body, one which, if implemented, would weaken the traditional control structure.

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Chapter 8: Conclusions

What I have tried to do in my thesis is to focus on the process of one aspect of teacher education, pointing to the contradictions and problems involved. Using the concepts of practical and theoretical ideologies, I have been able to take into account not only hegemonic, but also other ideologies which influenced the outcome of negotiations and affected the daily activity and development of one particular educational course.

Anticipating from the beginning that there might well be changes in ideological underpinning, with regard to education , and to higher education specifically, I find that my analyses have tended to confirm this. However it is apparent that such changes are not clear and simple, for the analyses reveal a complex set of both competing and complementary ideologies. Both the process of teacher education on which I have focussed and the discourse of Government Reports suggest that it is a complex affair, with many ideological strands permeating both negotiations and discourse and producing what may be termed a 'contrapuntal' effect.

One of the crucial activities of the state is the struggle for hegemonic control. 'Hegemony' seeks to legitimate particular modes of social relations and production, and that is more clearly visible in times of crisis when the state must assert its authority more obviously. At such times the state's authority becomes more coercive until a new or modified hegemonic ideology has become established. It is possible to argue that such a period of crisis was occurring in the late seventies, when the planning and implementation of the Professional Studies course

was taking place. Since educational institutions and, in particular, institutions concerned with teacher education are arguably important sources of hegemonic control, what takes place in one aspect of a teacher education course, is especially of interest to a study of social control.

Educational institutions however make up only one segment of the wider society and hegemony permeates throughout. Hence the concept of hegemony is useful also for examining other aspects of that society. Hegemony provides a society for example 'with the symbolic language for interpreting the boundaries of individual and social existence'.[1] Certainly, I would argue, what goes into Education Reports as indeed into the Professional Studies course is not neutral, but affected by the particular attitudes and values of those who produce them, or perhaps more correctly, in the case of Government Reports, those who commission them. Though claiming to be neutral and impartial the material produced is ideological in nature. The impartial stance of the authors of the Reports, and other tactics within the discourse, serve to remove the value-laden nature of the content from the reader's awareness, thus reducing the likelihood of any serious questioning by the reader. This useful strategy tends to foreclose any open or critical discussion on the issues concerned. Burton and Carlen argue that Government Reports

> "- can be seen as tactical devices to defray government activity ... while simultaneously demonstrating that particular problems are under administrative review and control."[2]

What I have tried to do in both aspects of my study is to look at each from a perspective which goes beyond the bounds of habit and common sense. This, I believed, would help me to identify the ideologies which shaped the understanding of both the tutors' and students'

perceptions concerning the course and the content of the selected Government Reports. In respect of the Professional Studies course my important questions have been, 'why did the PS Credit develop as it did, at this particular time?', and 'why is it being taught in this way?'. While the content of the Government Reports is an important focus, my chief aim is to 'deconstruct' the texts 'as objects of the ideological practice of state power',[3] for each Report can be seen as confronting a crisis in the administration of Education.

An important part of my research depends upon the notion of underlying contradictions. It is these which provide the key for approaching my analyses from a point of view, other than a common sense one. The dichotomy of theory-practice is revealed as especially important, and especially pervasive, alongside closely related élitist-technocratic and academic-efficiency contradictions. I would suggest that 'newer' ideologies emphasising practical, vocational, efficiency and technocratic perceptions compete with the 'older' theoretical and elitist notions. So well internalised are the latter though, through common sense knowledge about education, that the Professional Studies course, practical and vocational in intent, cannot achieve its objectives without being constantly modified by notions of high status education, in other words, by theoretical considerations. What is important about this is that it shows that hegemony does not work in a unilinear and simple, constraining fashion. It comes up against other important and well-internalised ideas often firmly based in common sense notions. The struggle that ensues is apparent in the negotiations over the Professional Studies course, in the development of ideas about suitable processes and content and in the notions about

what these students may be allowed to do in the schools. They are observable also in some of the assumptions made by the authors of the Reports.

Within the Professional Studies course, pedagogic practices also ensure that traditional divisions between theory and practice are reinforced. It is the evaluation exercise which, by the end of the second year, comes to be seen as important, not the 'course design' or 'records of implementation' documents. In other words, it is that part of the assessed work which is concerned with the student's theoretical activity, which becomes valued. The way also that the work is graded ensures that academic principles are perceived as the important ones, not those concerned with practice. Tutors, for example, at one of the colleges were 'demoted' to some extent by the down-grading of some of the students' marks at the end of the first year's implementation, in the interests of standardisation and quality. Projects there, it seemed, had been more concerned with the development of skills rather than with critical evaluation. It is no surprise to find that the tutors concerned were those least qualified in academic terms, while also being associated with a 'practical' subject. 'Traditional' assumptions hold good and firmly challenge the 'newer' practical objectives. 'Academic' background and quality, traditional and elitist perceptions are what matter.

Staffing arrangements revealed similar assumptions. The C.N.A.A. required tutors to be well-qualified in curriculum work and evaluation techniques. In my research findings staff on one site appeared to perceive those on another as inadequately qualified and perhaps thus, by implication, not appreciative of the qualities demanded of students. Many students themselves had similar expectations about the quality of work, anticipating the requirement for a certain intellectual depth, although there

were some certainly who placed a greater emphasis on 'practice'. But even in this case, the students recognised and accepted the traditional division as 'fact'. The division was seen as normal and natural. What I am suggesting is that there are strong élitist assumptions about higher education embedded in common sense ideas. They remain strong, competing effectively with newer, vocational ideals. These two, often contradictory, facets can be traced throughout the negotiations for, and implementation of, the Professional Studies course. While the attempt to give a practical or vocational emphasis to the B.Ed. Honours degree by inserting the Professional Studies course involved conscious efforts, theoretical or academic perceptions were often more hidden, more implicit, apparent in the assumptions made.

The importance of this relates to the implicit or perhaps unconscious acceptance of the hierarchically organised nature of the curriculum and the associated social relationships within educational institutions, as a microcosm of a similarly structured wider society. This is especially important in this instance, for teachers operating as 'intellectuals',[4] are in a powerful position to disseminate knowledge in their turn. Their values have been strongly internalised in everything they have done, both within and outside Education, forming the basis of their common sense. It is little wonder then if, implicitly at least, they transmit these values to their pupils. In this way those values permeate powerfully each new generation. It is no surprise, given the intellectualisation of the B.Ed. courses in the 1960's that this theory-practice dichotomy should become an issue. But the implications of this dichotomy run deep, for it has its roots in the wider social, economic and political contexts, a point which I am going on to discuss in a moment.

Focussing on the mechanisms by which the Professional Studies course has been 'produced' suggests that,while there is ostensibly an increasing shift in values towards practical work, as might be expected, the position nevertheless remains ambivalent. Traditional values persist in the discussion of ways of developing academic quality. Such a practical course cannot carry any weight on its own. To raise its status means drawing on traditional academic assumptions. On the other hand, the status of Professional Studies tends to be elevated by its inclusion in Honours level activity but despite this it remains, implicitly as least, of relatively low status in relation to the Honours course overall. Subject staff tend to give priority to subject work and 'fit in' Professional Studies work as best they can. These various contradictions have a 'contrapuntal' effect both throughout the analysis of the Professional Studies course and the analyses of Government Reports. Different ideologies, perceptions and attitudes emerge and recede at different points during the planning and implementation of the course. They are to be found similarly in the discourse of the Government Reports. In the latter case however they do not meet obstacles only insofar as they must confront 'the Other', the hidden contradiction of the Report, and then set about negating it.

As I have suggested, these contradictions are visible too in the assumptions held in the discourse of the Government Reports. I suggest that the basic theory-practice dichotomy and the other associated contradictions remain critical for any real understanding. The James Report raises the former as a fundamental issue and in many ways tends to hold an ambivalent position with regard to it. James requires the development of practical skills and institutionalises, what may

be termed, 'practical' work in the proposals for two years of professional training (second cycle). Yet it requires intellectual quality in first cycle subject work. Then again, it is seen as advisable for there to be more theoretical work for intending secondary teachers within their 'second cycle' work. These and other examples I suggest, reflect a degree of uncertainty. Nevertheless the issue has been raised and, I would argue, reinforced by the proposed consecutive training, institutionalising further the division between 'theory' and 'practice . The establishment of some Education Studies, in second cycle work, arguably, 'softens' the basic premise of a division between 'theory' and 'practice;'[5] but even here there is a pre-condition: Education Studies must involve 'applied' knowledge, in the sense that it must contribute towards effective teaching.

A Paper following quickly upon James, "A New B.Ed. Degree"[6] takes up this issue, seeking to avoid this potential separation of 'theory' and practice . It advocates that practical work should be closely integrated with theoretical work, but arguing at the same time for greater specialisation for intending secondary teachers. The authors are especially concerned that the various components of teacher education should not 'be thought of as separate'.[7] New degrees, they argue, need to provide 'balanced programmes';

> "- all parts of which contribute to the quality of the teacher, both as a skilled professional and as an educated person".[8]

It is evident that uncertainty remains in relation to the 'theory-practice dichotomy, often giving rise to areas of difficulty and tension. Indeed Kerr points to the tensions existing between the production of academically well-qualified teaching staff and the pursuit of an effective professional commitment.[9] This fundamental issue tends to be absorbed in the James Report into the need for a changed structure

for teacher education. This is done by tactics which ensure that problems are perceived to revolve around the concurrent consecutive training issue, an issue which opens the way for the standardisation of teacher education, I believe.

The theory-practice dichotomy emerges again, I have argued, in the Bullock Report. On the question of teacher education in relation to language for example, the authors suggest that they found in the colleges, sometimes an emphasis on 'theory', sometimes on 'practice', but seldom were the two interwoven. I have suggested however, that the authors tend to be more sympathetic with the 'practical' aspect. The authors point to their belief that colleges have become too 'academic', that

> "- there has been a tendency for an emphasis on the 'academic' training of the student to emerge at the expense of the professional element",[10]

Education Studies, which had developed so extensively in B.Ed. courses, were not seen as necessarily "directly related to the immediate needs of the beginning teacher"[11]. These and other instances are manifestations, I would suggest, of the underlying new 'practical' ideology impinging on the attitudes and discourse of the authors.

What I am suggesting is that the ambivalence of the theory-practice dichotomy, and perhaps the emphasis on the latter aspect, is part of a process of social control. The assumptions made by the authors of these Reports underlie their concerns with the content of teacher education. Bearing in mind the power of such Reports to diffuse widely their ideas, although of course they may not be implemented in full, it is implied that this particular kind of course content is what is valued. I would suggest that this is the case with regard to the Professional Studies element of the B.Ed. Honours degree. The desired

emphasis of a substantial part of that degree comes to be upon the development of practical skills in teachers. One might have anticipated, however, that any re-orientation of teacher education would have involved an emphasis on teachers' intellectual development. But this does not really become an issue in these Reports. The tendency is to suggest that higher education in the sixties had become too academic. What teacher education needed was professional experience, which no doubt it did, but not to the exclusion of a concern with the development of intellectual and critical faculties, which would provide an informed context within which students and teachers could work.

If we argue that hegemony is embedded in the negotiations of the PS course, and the discourse of these Reports, there is a need to examine the wider social and economic structure to understand this phenomenon further. The intended shift in the balance between theory and practice becomes clearer if we look at changes which are taking place in contemporary society. It then becomes apparent that it merges into an élitist-vocational argument. It is possible to suggest that these changes are taking place against a background of the 'industrialisation' of higher education.[12] One of the important factors in educational decision-making has come to rest on the question of whether higher education can be seen as an 'investment'. This means that investment in higher education is decided upon, by the state, according to economic utility and this appears to be the path we are taking. Miles points out that this approach is at odds

> "- with the traditional view of higher education as a 'community of scholars' which transmits culture from generation to generation and advances knowledge 'for its own sake'-".[13]

It is closely linked to a concern with efficiency. This rests upon the contradiction to be found in the commitment to capitalism, on the one hand, and the commitment to social welfare, on the other.[14]

Efficiency in education has by the latter half of the seventies become a very important issue. With the dislodging of the pursuit of 'equal opportunity', at least from its primary position, notions related to efficiency and reduced economic expenditure struggle to replace, or at least to modify, the prevailing hegemonic perceptions. It is not difficult to suggest that this shift to an efficiency discourse is manifested also in the microcosm of Colleges M. P. and G. The inclusion of school-based work, in the B.Ed. Honours Degree so essential from the very beginning can be said to reflect this focus on effective teaching. It had to be established as an integral and fundamental part of the B.Ed. Honours Year course whatever the ensuing difficulties. I would suggest that the emphasis on practice is part of the overall struggle for control over course content of teacher education. But efforts to achieve control have always to be dealt with cautiously, often under the guise of examining other issues. To establish hegemony all openings have to be taken up and manoeuvred subtly and carefully. It is not simply the theory-practice and related dichotomies, which underpin many of the developments in both aspects of this study. Control through centralisation and standardisation is a key features of each also.

The elitist-efficiency dichotomy, I would suggest, may also be seen against the general background of what Sharp calls the 'vulgarisation' of high culture. She argues that there is a decline of the liberal university in the face of growing 'pragmatism and utilitarianism'.[15] No longer is the university a status 'differentiating institution' for the aristocracy and the old professions. Its social role has become

> "- a training locale for the mass of specialised functionaries required by more complex and differentiated capitalist productive systems."[16]

This notion has implications clearly for teacher education. No longer can education be associated predominantly at least with traditional élitist assumptions. Pupils, even those going on to higher education, are likely to be concerned, I would argue, with the development of vocational interests. Teachers in their turn must be able to cope with these new ideological perceptions, must also be well versed in their skills in order to meet these requirements. I would suggest that the moves to include Professional Studies as part of the Honours degree appears to be an aspect of this general trend. Efficiency amongst teachers is essential once education becomes closely linked, as I am arguing it is doing, to economic concerns.

Not only is control related to élitist-efficiency notions, but also to contradictory elements to be found in the independence and autonomy, which are traditionally part of the teacher's role. Since, arguably, by the seventies a period of 'crisis' had accentuated the state's efforts to exert control, both in wider society and also within the sphere of education, it is likely that both the analyses of the Professional Studies course and the Government Reports would highlight something of this. The efforts in the James Report to reorganise the structure of teacher education can be seen as part of an overall rationalisation process, providing the state with a potential opportunity to extend its control. A similar manifestation of this underlying struggle, I would argue, can also be traced in processes of 'course validation'. The 'support' that C.N.A.A. gains from the James Report reflects, I would suggest, the latter's efforts to remove the colleges from the control of the universities. In their place C.N.A.A. is clearly perceived favourably . The way in which the colleges' Professional Studies submissions were rejected a number of times and then finally

validated suggests that C.N.A.A. had influence in shaping the Professional Studies course. C.N.A.A. argue that they are concerned only with the quality of B.Ed. degree courses. In fact they were, in the case of the Professional Studies Course, concerned with ensuring that some form of school-based work was included in the Honours year. By the validation procedure it is possible to suggest that an area has opened up for centralised control. The procedure is able by a series of course submissions and rejections to shape the perceptions of what a particular course should be and, more important, to decide whether it should be there at all. In the case of P.S. 180 the speed with which it subsequently became established is significant. The inclusion of the Professional Studies course in the Honours degree course was widely accepted as normal by the second year of implementation (1980 sample). Others have also pointed to the fact that C.N.A.A. attitudes are likely to have impact on course planning. Chambers argues that,

> "After reading a fair number of C.N.A.A. submissions, one becomes conscious of a remarkable similarity."[17]

I am not suggesting that control by the state and by C.N.A.A. are one and the same thing. But I believe a potential area for extended state control has opened up to be carried out in the name of standardisation and centralisation.

If C.N.A.A. may be regarded as a potential centralising force, there is more recent evidence of other centralising tendencies elsewhere, for example in the 1985 Green Paper on Higher Education.[17A] The trend towards an increasingly vocational emphasis in higher education, coupled with pressures to lessen expenditure significantly, provide the opportunity for a degree of centralisation to be imposed. What seems to have been occurring since 1981 is that, in order to find room for an expansion of technology, cuts have been made in the social sciences and the arts.[17B] The importance of this however, from the point of view of this argument, is that planning has been increasingly centralised. This

process has been aided by the creation of the National Advisory Body (N.A.B.) and the fact that little opposition has been offered by the University Grants Commission.

The question of staff appraisal which can be seen as part of the wider accountability movement, is also raised in the Green Paper.[17C] The notion that remuneration should relate to the individual's perceived worth leads to questions of who assesses the quality and how this is to be done. This is a potentially fruitful area for the expansion of centralised procedures and control. A formal framework would be needed for such evaluation on a national scale.

While the Green Paper explicitly rules out the notion of a single planning body for higher education, nevertheless the authors clearly state that it is the Government itself which accepts its own responsibilities in this area!

Centralisation is evident too in other areas of education. At school level there is the question of the curriculum. On the one hand the form of the debate about the curriculum appears to be becoming more centrally directed. Previously Governments have taken a more democratic line, considering material gathered from a variety of sources. The reports of independent Consultative Committees or Central Advisory Councils carried debate forward and the Schools Council provided informed discussion also. Whitbread[17D] compares this democratic style with the current approach in which a spate of documents has emanated centrally from the Department of Education and Science. The style appears to be more directive, in the sense that these documents, consultative papers and policy statements are the ones which set the parameters of the curriculum debate.

At the same time Her Majesty's Inspectorate has been drawn into this process of controlling debate, by the publication of certain pamphlets[17E]. Certainly these pamphlets invite comment, but they also succeed in drawing parameters around the discussion. The significance is however that these parameters are not unlike those drawn by the DES. What appears to be happening is that documents are discussed and then the conclusions are presented as a consensus view. The evidence which has been received, and the subsequent discussion of it, are not made available for the public. Whitbread believes that this strategy is all the more dangerous for having the appearance of public debate, while controlling centrally the terms of that debate. The key to this is no doubt to be found in the ideological changes which, it is alleged, are taking place. They suggest why perhaps such forceful strategies are being employed.

Noticeable changes have also occurred in basic assumptions observable in documents emanating from the DES. The definition of a common core within the curriculum appeared in the Green Paper of 1977[18] and was taken further in subsequent documents. By the time of the DES Paper in 1984,[18A] certain of the earlier aims had been dropped or re-stated showing a clear shift in the ideological stance of its authors. Whitbread argues that the 1984 paper's presentation of the curriculum as instrumental, and almost entirely in terms of 'the place of the main subjects',[18B] points to a reaction against progressivism. This suggests that rather than viewing the curriculum in terms of activity and experience it has come to be seen as 'knowledge to be acquired':

> "Indeed the 11-16 curriculum is treated in a manner reminiscent of the 1904 Secondary Regulations, but up-dated with new attention to skill acquisition." [18C]

The purpose of the '5-16 curriculum' paper now appears to be to establish the importance of 'subject knowledge' within contemporary schooling.

What is particularly relevant to this research is that the Secretary of State appears to have sought to use initial teacher education to impose the importance of subject knowledge in schools. In 1984 he created the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (C.A.T.E.), which has to consider H.M.I. institutional reports according to specific criteria, before approving a course[18D]. Again this may be perceived as a means of cutting through any potential opposition and can be seen as an acceleration of the centralising process.

But as early as the mid-seventies implications regarding the extension of state control in education are to be found in the Bullock Report. I regard the Bullock Report as standing at a pivotal point between two ideological emphases. The remnants of the 'old' progressive ideology are there but strong elements of the 'new' efficiency argument appear. While home background explanations of pupil failure remain, teachers come to be identified as an importance variable also. It is evident in the section on teacher education[19A] that there are strong emphases on the practical commitment of intending teachers. This continues what I would argue is a shift in emphasis made in the earlier James Report. With Bullock it is evident that educational thinking is being pointed in a direction, quite different from the one characterised by the intellectualisation of B.Ed. degrees in the sixties. Added to this, economic pressures ensure that this perception of teacher education comes to be closely associated with efficiency. This probably accounts to some extent for what I perceive as a 'harder' line, taken by the authors of this Report. I have already argued that many of their proposals tend to appear as blueprints for action, although the authors dismiss this notion. While not within the section which I analysed specifically, there is the significant proposal in the Report for the regular monitoring of standards. This clearly opens the way for an extension of control by the state within schools and ultimately within teacher

education, by means of moving towards centralisation and standardisation.

By the time of the Taylor Report, developments were such that there was growing conflict between the need to control costs and the increasing demands for access to education[19B] to which I would add the concomitant difficulties over control of the curriculum. It is possible to argue that although participation has democratic connotations, nevertheless it provides a means of obtaining control by consent. It is implied that all are involved, all share in the decision-making. In this way consensus can develop but a consensus, I would suggest, which almost certainly is already 'shaped'.

Within this context accountability emerges. This is significant for this study, I believe, since the way the Professional Studies course

has emerged is along lines of the development of evaluation techniques, techniques for assessing one's success in the classroom. Something of the same ethos is observable in the Professional Studies course and the Taylor Report, I would suggest. Being accountable implies some kind of evaluation in relation to the teacher's performance.

Two other features of this study emerge which are worthy of comment, I believe. The first concerns what I would term rational and positivist forms of knowledge, involving scientific forms of investigation, which become apparent in both the Professional Studies planning and in the legitimating procedures of Government Reports. Such rational knowledge and empirical evidence are considered crucial elements in education. They characterise the students' projects in the Professional Studies course, and embolden and authenticate the arguments in the Reports, but Jenks argues that schools need to be analysed 'as arenas where teachers and pupils ... interact'[20]. Knowledge in this context then cannot

> "... be seen as an entity that is constant, ... and be thus amenable to objective quantification."[21]

His argument is that positivism as the conventional epistemology has given rise to 'an over-analytic stance', both within education and in Western intellectual activity. There is most certainly evidence of this in the Professional Studies projects. But I would argue it is an overriding feature also of Government Reports, in particular in relation to their legitimating tactics. The more evidence that is available the greater the authenticity implied. The more neutral the stance, as their use of supportive evidence is apt to imply, the more authority the authors appear to carry.

I would argue that the rationalist underpinning has the effect of limiting the range of knowledge available to students and, in this way, acts as a means of control. The emphasis of the projects is on evaluation of some aspect of the curriculum and has its roots in positivism and rationality. The use of a rationalist paradigm, means that there is a tendency to ignore a variety of issues concerned with, for example, the social influences on the curriculum. Seen from the former points of view, projects on the curriculum would be unlikely to emphasise struggle and contradiction and would be less likely to view the curriculum as problematic. What is available for students on the Professional Studies course is the opportunity to select an aspect of teaching for study, examples being 'classifying systems of educational objectives', 'structuring reinforcement', 'organisational resources' etc. (November 1977 Syllabus, p 13). The significance of this then is that not only are these aspects, I believe, underpinned by positivist thinking, but in this way, they serve to limit the extent and quality of potential enquiries which the student can undertake. More important from the point of view of this study is that these positivist assumptions reinforce positivist assumptions held in wider society, assumptions closely related to the nature of industrial society.

There is also a closely related issue, I would argue. In the sense that the project work is based on the evaluation of the curriculum, it is to some extent concerned with content. But the emphasis is also on the implementation of an aspect of teaching. In this latter sense, I would argue, the focus comes to be much more on how one is teaching rather than what is being taught. Although this remains an arguable point, I nevertheless think it is possible to suggest that the course gives, partially at least, an emphasis on skills and class control, activities which Aronowitz claims have become important in teacher education. This, he

believes, results in intellectual ignorance amongst teachers and they tend to fall back upon 'police like behaviour' to compensate.[22] There is a hint of truth, I think, in this statement. Certainly the introduction of Professional Studies as 25 per cent of the Honours degree course could be identified as a modification of its intellectual emphasis.

A second issue of note which has emerged centres on the notion of progressivism. Within education it is synonymous with moves towards a 'more pragmatic, utilitarian and socially relevant curriculum'.[23] At the same time it emphasises 'child-centredness'. The significance of progressivism is however much deeper. It can be argued that a progressive discourse, along with its associated notions of welfare serve as an important means of control:

> "In a context of developing monopoly capitalism and the heightened class antagonism which accompanied this process, a political need was generated for an enlarged interventionist state to enhance its economic and political capacities..."[24]

Evidence of this 'intervention' is, I would argue, increasingly observable in the Government Reports here under scrutiny and is especially noticeable, I would suggest, in the recommendations of the Bullock Report. More to the point though here, it can be argued that the progressive ideology has been used to stress the 'unified' rather than the 'conflict' nature of society.[25] It has served as a means of 'adjusting' people to a particular form of industrial society. In contemporary educational and wider thinking, progressivism has weakened, but it remains an important tactic for promoting particular issues. In earlier decades it was supportive of the 'equality of opportunity' ideal. But while progressive approaches, I would suggest, are currently less valued in respect of the child-centred pedagogy, progressive discourse continues to promote pragmatic and utilitarian notions of education.

Currently this manifests itself in close association with efficiency ideals and I would argue that the progressive discourse is changed and modified in a positive sense in order to give support for these new ideals.

This was apparent in both aspects of my study. The progressive discourse is apparent in the discourse related to the Professional Studies course, which in itself, I would argue, is a manifestation of both the utilitarian and the indiv idual fulfilment aspects of progressivism. The essential underpinning of a 'just and fair society' and notions of 'individual fulfilment' remain an important means of introducing and reinforcing ideas. In the Government Reports, under scrutiny here, the progressive ideology has remained a powerful tool to be used, I would suggest, for promoting different perceptions of education, teachers and their place in contemporary society. Liberal-democratic notions continue to hold good, for democratic ideals remain strong within our common sense perceptions. Yet, I would argue, in the Bullock Report for example, they are increasingly being used to present very different ideas, often ones which may be perceived as contradictory or paradoxical, certainly to the original 'progressive' notions of child-centred education. Notions stemming from both the Taylor and Bullock Reports show, I would argue, increasing pressures towards centralisation, standardisation and control of teachers. But it is a liberal-democratic discourse very often of the individual fulfilment kind, which serves to set the tone, which introduces the proposals.

Much of my investigation has been to identify what mechanisms are involved in transmitting particular ways of thinking. These, I believe, are especially observable at a time when changes occur in the way

reality is perceived. I believe such changes were taking place in the seventies, and that these changes were visible in the struggle to establish and insert a practically oriented courses, in an area of work which, by tradition, has been perceived as predominantly academic . This latter perception, I would argue, stems from deep-rooted, hegemonic perceptions of what high status education involves. Again the emphasis in the study of Government Reports was on discourse analysis which served to identify the tactics involved in producing a particular form of reality within Government Reports.

The roots of the strains and difficulties arising during the negotiations in the planning stages and during the first two years of implementation, I would argue, relate to important underlying contradictions. The most important of these, as I have suggested, are based fundamentally on the theory-practice issue. Variations occur, in the sense that such notions become modified in respect of contemporary developments, but I believe they remain rooted in the same dichotomy. An important one is to be found in the élitist-efficiency contradiction, where the basic theory-practice element is modified in terms of the more explicit concerns of industrial society.

Tapper and Salter summarise the issue, I believe, succintly. They argue that the DES is seeking to establish an educational system, based on the ideology of manpower planning [25]. The move towards making the educational system a major instrument of manpower planning is the most explicit attempt to ensure that it serves a definition of the nation's economic needs. It also provides a theme which could be used to legitimate inequality, i.e. according to individual's ability to meet this definition of economic need.

The assumption that educational change should be consumer-led is a proposal to regard the individual primarily as a cog in a socio-economic machine. It is to regard the education system as an arena of the Manpower Services Commission. It can be suggested that current education is preoccupied with instrumental value and in this way becomes conflated with training, or is expected to make way for it on the assumption that there are two sorts of learning:

> "'training' which is useful and relevant, and 'education' which is a luxury few want and collectively we cannot afford."[26]

What is currently perceived as important is that a radical restructuring of the education system is required, to provide lifelong learning options for the majority of the population, rather than the 'mandarin experience' which is irrelevant to the needs and inappropriate to the capacities of all but a few. On the basis of this perception the claim is that resources should be shifted from non-vocational to vocational education and that 'lifelong education' should be promoted.[27]

Jonathan, however, makes a plea for education and training not to be considered as discrete entities. Simply because in the past, it was supposed that a sound classical education was sufficient for running an empire, this does not mean that now a broad education is not relevant to economic function, 'still less that we should ditch education in favour of training.[28] The real purpose of education is about giving the young an understanding of the world and the ability to make considered choices about how to live in it. Of course they need to be trained specifically for this economic role but,

> "Far from a broad general education being a luxury we cannot afford, it is the precondition for a technological society committed to democracy and pluralism."[29]

Nevertheless the relationship between the individual and complex society is likely to involve,

> "-tension between the educator's responsibility to individuals in his charge and his accountability to society as a whole."[30]

This contradication between personal education and education for skills remains strong.

For Jonathan, the critical contradication is the vocational - non-vocational issue. She equates vocational education in the eighties with training opposing it to broader classical education, to 'mandarin experience'. The James Report a decade or so earlier sought to de-emphasise specialisation, perceiving broader-based education as more nearly satisfying contemporary social and economic requirements. A number of different strands, I would argue, are involved here. The overall concern with standards has arguably shifted the emphasis back towards more traditional subject-centred perceptions of education, which retain intimations of quality. Control of education arguably becomes more tangible when organised along specialist lines. Subject-centred can mean skill-orientated as well as geared to academic subjects and is perhaps more likely to provide a means for legitimating inequality. However, it is the vocational emphasis which is at the heart of the matter and much hinges, I would suggest, upon the state's perception of what is relevant to economic requirements and how far education should be geared to its demands. Jonathan's plea for a moderate approach is indeed appropriate.

My research suggests that notions of economic rationality have become part of the general underpinning of the Professional Studies course. However, elitist notions are used to justify the standards and quality of the course. But perhaps more important, it is in the implicit assumptions held that academic and elitist notions remain the most tenacious. An ambivalent attitude appears in the James and Bullock Reports, I would suggest. Each pursues a practical objective, but does not disregard the importance of academic emphases. Once again though implicit assumptions are made about the nature and indeed importance of academic quality, nevertheless there is, I believe, a shift in hegemony observable in both the Professional Studies Credit and the Government Reports. The ability of C.N.A.A. to ensure that a vocational course is part of the Honours degree year cannot be disputed. In a sense teacher education is having to respond to these new perceptions because, what is at stake, is the change in ideas about what the appropriate kind of teacher is going to be.

But these outcomes are by no means certain. Strong prevailing notions about academic and intellectual quality exist, providing a barrier to these changing perceptions. For higher education, the elitist-efficiency and elitist-technocratic contradictions stemming, as I have suggested, from the basic theory-practice dichotomy, are the important ones. They are to be found interwoven with each other and alongside a number of others, giving a complex and uncertain picture. This is apparent in both aspects of my study and I have traced the contradictions in each. Perhaps 'on the shop floor' in the College of

Education, the difficulties that are encountered are more clearly revealed, since I have been able to focus upon the negotiations involved, different points of view, the various discourses employed and areas of tension and resistance which arise.

In the case of the Government Reports they exist, as it were, in an ideal world in which, although the authors recognise those areas where problems are likely to be encountered, they are able to superimpose their ideas and do. It is not difficult to perceive the underlying 'directions' which the authors give us. But even here, implicit, traditional and very firmly based perceptions hold strong as authors 'unconsciously' make and support their arguments. Government Reports are set up "to investigate and report specific matters defined in their terms of reference" [31], so it should not be surprising if many of the 'less favoured' views emerge only implicitly.

The main part of my research has been to apply particular concepts to the analysis of one course in higher education. I believe the concept of ideology is particularly well suited to revealing the way in which the course is devised, implemented and its relevance in terms of wider society. Paralleled by a form of discourse analysis, used to examine relevant Government Reports, this has also been a fruitful source of insights into the workings of ideology. Possibilities, I believe, open up for the use of the concept of ideology for other educational situations.

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APPENDIX I

Method of analysing empirical data

Material from the documents, interview tapes and questionnaires clearly had to be drawn together. I decided that one useful way would be to analyse them in stages, not altogether dissimilar to the stages devised by Burton and Carlen in their 'discourse analysis'. The three stages were firstly the early planning of the credit when parameters were being drawn up and 'oppositional' ideas were being dismissed; secondly, the later planning stages and early stages of implementation, when 'problems' had to be contained; and thirdly, the implementation of the course when many of the major difficulties had been resolved.

1st stage

Taking the 1975-76 period of planning first, I analysed how and what ideas were established as 'legitimate' and 'appropriate' for the Professional Studies course. While much of the material for this stage was taken from the early documents, a fair amount of material was available from the tapes which had recorded interviews with tutors.

2nd stage

Taking material very largely from similar sources as for stage I, I concerned myself with the later stages of planning, 1977-78, examining the ways in which the arguments were developed and became 'established'. Clearly, argument at this stage was no longer concerned with the issue of whether or not Professional Studies was to be included in the 4th year BEd Honours degree course. What it did was to develop notions concerning the nature of the course, and employed different tactics to

remove any last traces of opposition, and to bring the remaining differences into line. The early stages of implementation, as revealed in student questionnaires, as well as in documents and interviews, suggested that a number of tensions and uncertainties still remained.

3rd stage

Material for this stage of implementation was drawn largely from the taped interview with tutors, and the questionnaire responses from students. This stage focusses upon the nature of the Professional Studies course and the containment of remaining difficulties. It also emphasises the perceptions of different groups on the process of implementation.

Wider social, political and economic context

The notion of 'layers' or 'levels' was kept in mind in the analysis. While one needs to focus on the development of the course within the context of the BEd Honours degree, at the same time one has to perceive this development as taking place against a background of policy changes. Additionally, the wider social and economic context has to be taken into account. These 'layers' or levels do not provide a formal framework for my analysis, but are taken into consideration in the discussion of my findings.

APPENDIX II

Important developments within this field are to be found in the work of Barthes, for example. Hall points out that for Barthes linguistic systems are only

> "... one element in a much wider field of sign systems, the science of which was semiotics. Semiotics was the method by means of which the mental or symbolic or signifying systems of a culture could be systematically investigated".[1]

It seems that the dominant tradition in semiotics, in the early stages at least, was concerned with identifying the rules by which 'signification' takes place. In Barthes' perception, however, it is also set within the broader context, for he maintains the notion that ideologies are appropriated by the dominant classes in order to perpetuate their dominance. For Barthes sets of 'significations', (i.e. the mechanisms by which certain things and relations come to be seen as important, or indeed unimportant) are clearly located in specific historical periods. Barthes' codes are used specifically for the analysis of literary texts. Donald however applies Barthes' ideas to his analysis of the Green Paper on Education, employing these 'codes' to examine the way the text creates a sense of reality. For example, the 'hermeneutic code' constantly formulates and reformulates a problem in wuch a way that it can ultimately be resolved. The 'semic code' plays on the ascription of characteristics to persons, places or things, so that teachers are portrayed as possessing 'vigour' and 'imagination', or 'able' and 'experienced'. Schools may be 'exciting' or they may be 'over ambitious'. Such 'codes' provide subtle ways of creating 'appropriate' perceptions in their readers.[2]

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APPENDIX III

Abbreviated Summaries of Questionnaire Results

Questionnaire responses are here abbreviated to show only the responses for quantitative analysis.

The first sheets show five graded columns of the results of the 1979 and 1980 questionnaires, the second, three columns, ie A and B; C; D and E.

The order of the questions of the 1979 questionnaires have been changed to fit in with the order of the 1980 questionnaires, so that the results can be compared more easily.

1979 Sample (rounded to whole numbers)

9. To what extent did you feel that the following aims were embodied in the Professional Studies Credit which you have just undertaken?

		A (%)	B (%)	C (%)	D (%)	E (%)
a)	To develop skills in curriculum planning, implementation and evaluation in professional practice	25	35	15	25	0
b)	To provide an opportunity to explore relationships between theory and practice of the curriculum	6	33	33	22	6
c)	To undertake an extended investigation in your chosen field	28	28	17	22	5
d)	To develop a command of evaluation techniques appropriate to your investigation	15	25	20	30	10
e)	To develop skill in evaluating the contribution of curriculum projects to professional practices	12	24	41	23	0

10. To what extent did the Professional Studies Credit help you in the following?

a)	To develop skills in curriculum planning, implementation and evaluation in professional practice	20	10	30	25	15
b)	To have an opportunity to explore relationships between theory and practice of the curriculum	10	30	20	30	10
c)	To undertake an extended investigation in your chosen field	20	40	20	15	5
d)	To develop a command of evaluation techniques appropriate to your investigation	30	15	20	20	15
e)	To develop a skill in evaluating the contribution of curriculum projects to professional practices	21	11	21	32	15

1979 Sample (cont.)

6. In your experience, to what extent were the following dealt with as part of the Credit?

			A (%)	B (%)	C (%)	D (%)	E (%)
A	a)	Deciding on aims and objectives of a school course	25	20	20	25	10
	b)	Working on ways of implementing such a course	5	32	47	11	5
	c)	Organising the teaching/ learning of your course	17	22	33	22	6
	d)	Assessing the children's work and progress	22	17	22	33	6
	e)	Planning the use of resources (e.g. visual aids)	15	45	0	25	15
	f)	Selecting the kinds of learning experience for the children concerned	25	25	20	15	15
	g)	Selection of content for your course	15	20	30	25	10
B	a)	Working on lesson planning and structure	16	16	42	21	5
	b)	Controlling and directing the pupils	5	25	35	30	5
	c)	The allocation of time for/within your course	25	11	21	32	11
	d)	Recognising and diagnosing pupils' problems	10	20	30	30	10
C	a)	Special techniques for evaluating the project you have undertaken (e.g. attitude testing)	32	16	26	16	10
	b)	Relevant aspects of educational theory	30	20	30	10	10

5. In your opinion, how useful was the investigation in helping you to develop skills in curriculum planning, implementation and evaluation?

a)	Curriculum planning	14	10	24	38	14
b)	Implementation	10	25	45	10	10
c)	Evaluation	32	16	26	21	5

1979 Sample (cont.)

7. How much value do you attribute to the following pieces of assessed work?

	A (%)	B (%)	C (%)	D (%)	E (%)
a) Course design document (with details of planning e.g. rationale, aims, strategies, resources, assessment etc.)	45	15	10	30	0
b) Records of implementation	11	26	5	53	5
c) Evaluation report (with evaluation procedures and their outcomes)	35	45	0	20	0

8. The methods and activities below indicate some of the ways a course (such as your Professional Studies Credit) may be undertaken. To what extent would you consider the following methods to be of help in such a course? (Please fill in even though your course may not have used them).

a) Lecture and Discussion	33	10	48	9	0
b) Film and discussion	11	28	22	33	6
c) Informal, unstructured group discussion	15	25	25	35	0
d) Informal, individual discussions plus tutor	50	35	10	5	0
e) Practical work with equipment etc.	26	37	21	11	5

12. To what extent do you consider your earlier experience, in the BEd Ordinary degree course, a useful foundation for your work in the Professional Studies Credit?

a) Professional Studies	11	53	26	5	5
b) Education	5	32	37	21	5
c) Main subject	30	10	25	15	20

13. In your view, to what extent did the content of the Professional Studies Credit duplicate the work done in other parts of your four year course?

0	20	10	50	20

14. Would you have liked the Professional Studies Credit to occupy a larger or smaller proportion of the fourth year BEd Honours degree course?

0	15	25	30	30

Twenty completed questionnaires out of a sample of sixty-one.

1980 Sample (rounded to whole numbers)

7. To what extent did you feel that the following aims were embodied in the Professional Studies Credit which you have just undertaken?

	A (%)	B (%)	C (%)	D (%)	E (%)
a) To develop skills in curriculum planning, implementation and evaluation in professional practice	48	32	16	0	4
b) To provide an opportunity to explore relationships between theory and practice of the curriculum	24	20	44	12	0
c) To undertake an extended investigation in your chosen field	72	8	20	0	0
d) To develop a command of evaluation techniques appropriate to your investigation	32	36	24	8	0
e) To develop skill in evaluating the contribution of curriculum projects to professions and practices	4	32	40	20	4

8. To what extent did the Professional Studies Credit help you in the following?

a) To develop skills in curriculum planning, implementation and evaluation in professional practice	40	40	16	0	4
b) To have an opportunity to explore relationships between theory and practice of the curriculum	20	36	32	12	0
c) To undertake an extended investigation in your chosen field	56	24	16	4	0
d) To develop a command of evaluation techniques appropriate to your investigation	28	28	28	16	0
e) To develop a skill in evaluating the contribution of curriculum projects to professional practices	4	32	32	32	0

1980 Sample (cont.)

10. In your experience, to what extent were the following dealt with as part of the Credit?

			A (%)	B (%)	C (%)	D (%)	E (%)
A	a)	Deciding on aims and objectives of a school course	37	29	25	9	0
	b)	Working on ways of implementing such a course	37	42	13	4	4
	c)	Organising the teaching/ learning of your course	38	29	25	8	0
	d)	Assessing the children's work and progress	25	42	25	8	0
	e)	Planning the use of resources (e.g. visual aids)	33	29	21	9	8
	f)	Selecting the kinds of learning experience for the children concerned	29	38	25	4	4
	g)	Selection of content for your course	33	21	17	21	8
B	a)	Working on lesson planning and structure	29	33	17	17	4
	b)	Controlling and directing the pupils	25	25	25	13	12
	c)	The allocation of time for/within your course	21	17	29	21	12
	d)	Recognising and diagnosing pupils' problems	12	50	21	13	4
C	a)	Special techniques for evaluating the project you have undertaken (e.g. attitude testing)	33	17	25	17	8
	b)	Relevant aspects of educational theory	17	33	25	17	8

11. In your opinion, how useful was the investigation in helping you to develop skills in curriculum planning, implementation and evaluation?

a) Curriculum planning	36	44	12	4	4
b) Implementation	36	40	20	4	0
c) Evaluation	52	36	8	4	0

1980 Sample (cont.)

12. How much value do you attribute to the following pieces of assessed work?

	A (%)	B (%)	C (%)	D (%)	E (%)
a) Course design document (with details of planning, e.g. rationale, aims, strategies, resources, assessment etc.)	24	40	28	8	0
b) Records of implementation	36	28	28	4	4
c) Evaluation report (with evaluation procedures and their outcomes.)	56	36	8	0	0

13. The methods and activities below indicate some of the ways a course (such as your Professional Studies Credit) may be undertaken. To what extent would you consider the following methods to be of help in such a course? (Please fill in even though your course may not have used them.)

a) Lecture and Discussion	20	24	40	8	8
b) Film and discussion	8	8	29	42	13
c) Informal, unstructured group discussion	24	44	24	8	0
d) Informal, individual discussions plus tutor	58	25	13	4	0
e) Practical work with equipment etc.	21	17	21	37	4

14. To what extent do you consider your earlier experience, in the BEd Ordinary degree course, a useful foundation for your work in the Professional Studies Credit?

a) Professional Studies	12	40	32	8	8
b) Education	8	40	28	12	12
c) Main subject	40	32	8	12	8
d) Teaching practice	80	20	0	0	0

15. In your view, to what extent did the content of the Professional Studies Credit duplicate the work done in other parts of your four year course?

4	12	40	44	0

1980 Sample (cont.)

16. Would you have liked the Professional Studies Credit to occupy a larger or smaller proportion of the fourth year BEd Honours degree course?

A (%)	B (%)	C (%)	D (%)	E (%)
8	16	56	20	0

Twenty-five completed questionnaires out of a sample of fifty-one.

TABLE 1 : Questionnaire Results - 1979 and 1980 Samples: Three Columns

	A & B (%)	C (%)	D & E (%)		A & B (%)	C (%)	D & E (%)
		1979				1980	
3	Choice			5			
					76	9.5	14.5
					60	20	20
					68.2	22.7	9.1
4	Source of help			6			
					Tutor 54.2	33.3	12.5
					Self 86.9	13.1	0
					Other 54.5	9.1	36.4
9	How much were the aims embodied in the course?						
	a 60	15	25	7	80	16	4
	b 39	33	28		44	44	12
	c 56	17	27		80	20	0
	d 40	20	40		68	24	8
	e 36	41	23		36	40	24
10	How much did the course help?			8			
	a 30	30	40		80	16	4
	b 40	20	40		56	32	12
	c 60	20	20		80	16	4
	d 45	20	35		56	28	16
	e 32	21	47		36	32	32
6	How were these aspects dealt with?			10			
(i)	a 45	20	35		67	25	8
	b 37	47	16		79	12.5	8.5
	c 39	33	28		67	25	8
	d 39	22	39		67	25	8
	e 60	0	40		62.5	20.8	16.6
	f 50	20	30		67	25	8
	g 35	30	35		54	17	29
(ii)							
	a 32	42	26		62.5	16.6	20.8
	b 30	35	35		50	25	25
	c 36	21	43		38	29	33
	d 30	30	40		62.5	20.8	16.6
(iii)							
	a 48	26	26		50	25	25
	b 50	30	20		50	25	25
	531	356	413)	Totals	(776.5	291.7	231.5
	40.1	27.4	31.8)		(59.7	22.4	17.8
5	How useful was the investigation?						
	a 24	24	52	11	80	12	8
	b 35	45	20		76	20	4
	c 48	26	26		88	8	4

TABLE 1 (CONT.)

	A & B (%)	C (%)	D & E (%)		A & B (%)	C (%)	D & E (%)
		1979				1980	
7	How much value do you attribute to the course?						
	a 60	10	30	12	64	28	8
	b 37	5	58		64	28	8
	c 80	0	20		92	8	0
8	Which methods would your prefer?			13			
	a 43	48	9		44	40	16
	b 39	22	39		17	29	54
	c 40	25	35		68	24	8
	d 85	10	5		83	13	4
	e 63	21	16		37.5	20.8	41.7
12	To what extent was earlier work helpful?						
	a 64	26	10	14	52	32	16
	b 37	37	26		48	28	24
	c 40	25	35		72	8	20
	d				100	0	0
13	Duplication of the course.			15			
	20	10	70		16	40	44
14	Would you prefer the Professional Studies course to be larger or smaller?			16			
	15	25	60		24	56	20